The Social Contract

Vol. XIII, No. 1 Fall 2002

Highlights

From the writings of Lester Brown:

- 'History's Greatest Investment Opportunity'
- 'Dust Bowl Threatens China's Future'
- 'New York: Garbage Capitol of the World'
- 'World Wind Generation'
- 'Eco-Economy'

Exclusive interview of Lester Brown by John Rohe

John Cairns writes about 'environmental refugees'

Juan Mann exposes the workings of the Immigration Court System

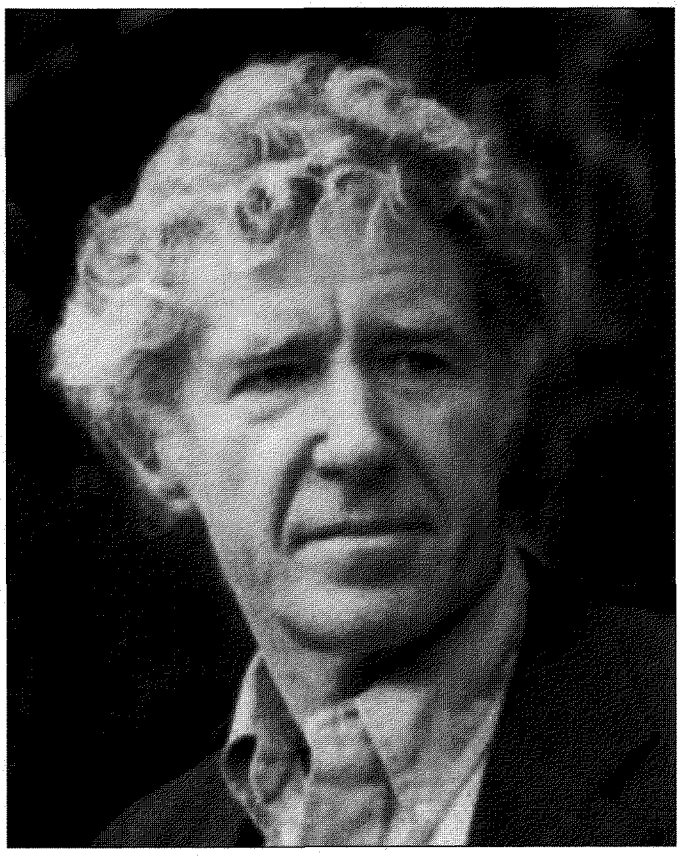
Michelle Malkin and Steve Sailer discuss the 'curious' lottery system for visas

Topical Books are reviewed by:

- Frederick Lynch
- Sheila Newman
- Michael Masters

Earth Policy in the Making

Highlighting Work of Lester Brown



Lester Brown

Ed Rubenstein reports on his research into immigrant use of the Earned Income Tax Credit. ***See page 53.***

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About THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal examines trends, events, and ideas that have an impact on America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?*
- *Immigration issues. In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted? and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?*
- *Language, assimilation, culture, and national unity considerations. What shared values are necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?*
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities. Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?*
- *Other nations' efforts at creating and guarding their own social contracts. What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?*

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles, essays and book reviews that vary greatly in outlook and philosophy. We encourage a wide spectrum of opinion as we publish contributions from many vantage points. The opinions expressed by the writers are not necessarily those of the editors or publisher.

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Contents

2 **A Note from the Editor**

3 **Letters to the Editor**

4 **A Note from the Guest Editor**
by John F. Rohe

5 **History's Greatest Investment Opportunity**
by Lester R. Brown

11 **Dust Bowl Threatening China's Future**
by Lester R. Brown

13 **New York: Garbage Capital of the World**
by Lester R. Brown

15 **World Wind Generation**
by Lester R. Brown

17 **At Least Someone Is Watching Our World: An Interview with Lester Brown**
by John F. Rohe

22 **Eco-Economy: Building An Economy for the Earth — Book Excerpt**
by Lester R. Brown

28 **Economism vs Earth: A Review of Lester Brown's Book, *Eco-Economy***
by John Attarian

34 **Environmental Refugees**
by John Cairns, Jr.

45 **A Border Patrol Agent's Open Letter**
by John Malone

48 **Reconquista?**
by Hector Alaya

49 **EOIR Immigration Court**
by Juan Mann

53 **Immigrants and the Earned Income Tax Credit**
by Edwin S. Rubenstein

55 **Deadly Diversity, Dumb Program**
by Michelle Malkin

56 **The Curious Immigration Lottery**
by Steve Sailer

58 **Blurred Visions of U.S. Citizenship**
by Georgie Anne Geyer

60 **The Canary Is Choking**
by Brenda Walker

62 **Suing Employers Who Hire Illegal Immigrants**
by Dan Stein

Book Reviews

64 Frederick Lynch reviews *Collision Course: The Strange Convergence of Affirmative Action and Immigration Policy in America* by Hugh Davis Graham.

69 Sheila Newman reviews *Geodestinies: The inevitable control of Earth resources over nations and individuals* by Walter Youngquist.

72 Michael Masters reviews *The Future of Life* by Edward O. Wilson.

76 **The Bulletin Board**

Centerfold **Index to Volume XII**

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is published four times a year by The Social Contract Press, 445 East Mitchell Street, Petoskey, MI 49770. Phone (231) 347-1171, Fax (231) 347-1185. Send mail correspondence and address corrections to address above, or e-mail to info@thesocialcontract.com. See our World Wide Web page at www.thesocialcontract.com. To order subscriptions or books call toll free: 1-800-352-4843. Third class postage paid at Petoskey, Michigan. *Copyright © 2002.*

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT
is published quarterly.
© 2002 by The Social Contract Press
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E-mail: info@thesocialcontract.com
Web Page: www.thesocialcontract.com
Archives:
www.thesocialcontract.com/archives
Third Class postage is paid at Petoskey, MI.

A Note from the Editor

Turning Up the Heat

While most Americans are focusing their concerns on the evident weakness in the economy, terrorism, and the extension of U.S. military involvement in the Middle East and Asia, Mexican President Vicente Fox recently declared it was "time for the United States to move ahead on foreign policy matters derailed by the September 11 (2001) attacks." The foreign policy matter he is most concerned with is Mexico's demands for the reform of American immigration laws to better accommodate the millions of Mexican citizens living illegally in this country.

As readers of this journal are well aware, a year ago President George Bush was well on his way toward granting amnesty to millions of Mexican illegal aliens. The September 11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon forced his administration to turn to security issues. But this past Spring, Bush and Fox quietly revived discussions on how to grant legal status to Mexicans illegally residing here.

Last year's terrorist attacks only increased the level of unease the American majority feels about mass immigration, which is clearly a threat to national security. In an interview with the *New York Times* published on September 12, President Fox said Mexico would wait until after the Fall Congressional elections to renew the campaign for a comprehensive amnesty for Mexican illegals. As Fox told the *NYT:*

> *We simply realize that at this moment while the U.S. elections process is going on it won't be possible to raise the migration agenda. In the same way it wasn't possible immediately after September 11. So we are waiting for an important window of opportunity after the U.S. elections. I think that is the right time to push this theme stronger. And there we would expect reciprocity. We would expect fulfillment of goals.*
>
> *President Bush himself expressed that he would really be an ally in the cause of migration, that we would work together to return the issue to the highest priority, that we would work with U.S. legislators as well so that they would look favorably upon this development...We will have a very active migration policy next year.*

Fox calls himself the president of "all the Mexicans" including the 100 million in Mexico as well as the 23 million living in the U.S. On September 19, 2002, Fox announced the establishment of the new Institute for Mexicans Abroad, which is charged with assisting Mexicans residing in the U.S. and to work on "issues of concern to all Mexicans everywhere."

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Through this institute, the Mexican government plans to engage in political lobbying and encourage allied pressure groups to advance their particular set of objectives.

Americans concerned about the future of this country have their work cut out for them. We have to reach out to as many of our fellows as possible, helping them see the links between immigration policies and other pressing issues such as the economy, the environment, national security, and the state of the national community.

As to this edition of *The Social Contract*, once again, the editors are grateful for the initiative and assistance of attorney and author John Rohe, who, some months ago, urged us to carry a feature interview with Lester Brown, founder of the WorldWatch Institute and of the current Earth Policy Institute. We asked Mr. Rohe to be guest editor for the feature section of this issue. Along with his interview, we are pleased to include a selection of representative articles by Brown.

WAYNE LUTTON, PH.D.

We wish also to draw your attention to the new websites listed on our Bulletin Board: www.illegalaliens.us; www.desertinvasion.us; and www.cairco.org, this last being the website for the Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform.

Letters to the Editor

EDITOR:

The final twenty-one pages of the Spring 2002 issue of *The Social Contract* is surely among the most important things your journal has printed. I am particularly impressed with Larry Auster's article ["Mass Immigration: Its Effects on Our Culture"]. [And] I've just finished the latest issue of *The Social Contract* (Vol. XII, No. 4, Summer 2002). It is unusually good!

GARRETT HARDIN
Santa Barbara, California

[*Editor's note: Mr. Auster's article from the Spring issue is available in The Social Contract archives at*: http://www.thesocialcontract.com/cgi-bin/showarticle.pl?articleID=1080&terms=.]

EDITOR:

Joseph Fallon makes a number of interesting points in his article review in your Spring 2002 issue. However, I would take a more charitable view of Mr. Steinlight. His recent article represents the tortured ruminations of a man whose lifelong worldview has been mugged by the reality of recent events and should, in fact, be welcomed as a strengthening of the immigration reform movement.

Mr. Steinlight's arguments are also specifically addressed to the concerns of the Jewish community, and while it is an all too human failing to appeal to the parochial interests of a group, it is inevitable in forging the coalition that is needed at this time. Thus, when appealing to Blacks, it must be pointed out that the wave of unskilled immigrants means a diminution of their influence and economic opportunities. When appealing to Evangelicals, one must point out that the tidal wave of immigration will result not in the moral regeneration of the country, but rather in the further decline of religious Christian influence. Environmentalists must be shown that while immigration may result in an increase in the amount of diversity, so beloved of their fellow "progressives", it will also result in massive environmental degradation.

ROY BLAU
New York City

EDITOR:

I have just read *Camp of the Saints* and I don't think I will ever be the same. Has a movie been made on this book? If not, I would like to make a contribution to the production of such a movie. This book has revealed a source of a deeply buried depression in my soul that I could not quite figure out. The revelation is that my country is going to the undeserving masses and I am being forced to like it.

RON DICKINSON
Acworth, Georgia

[*Editor's Note: Jean Raspail's 1972 novel,* The Camp of the Saints, *republished by The Social Contract Press, is, by far, the most frequently requested item in our inventory. It can be ordered on our website bookstore, www.thesocialcontract.com.*]

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A Note from the Guest Editor

by John F. Rohe

> *One of the penalties of an ecological education is that one lives alone in a world of wounds.*
>
> —Aldo Leopold, *Round River*

As the laws of gravity press against the stock market, our financial community serves up healthy assurances of continued economic growth and prosperity. Meanwhile, Lester Brown keeps a finger on the pulse of the planet. He counters with the observation that economic progress has exacted environmental losses along the way.

Narratives of the blessings of economic growth line financial news pages. Brown's bird's-eye view elevates him to another plane. From this perch, a frayed web of life comes into view. He observes that our lives remain perilously embedded in a fragile system.

With a $500,000 grant from the Rockefeller brothers in 1974, Brown founded the WorldWatch Institute to maintain statistics on the globe's life-supporting systems. He recently formed the Earth Policy Institute (EPI) to formulate new economic policies. As the reality of a finite planet collides with the aspiration for perpetual resource depletion, Brown envisions a radical change in our world view. EPI will likely be on the front lines of this paradigm shift.

The gravity of Brown's determination is gleaned from between the lines. When depressing a fuel pump nozzle, he likely feels implicated in tense geopolitical complexes with weapons of mass destruction poised to defend the depletion of non-renewable natural resources. When he flicks on a light switch, his conscience might confront neurological diseases caused by mercury contamination descending upon lakes and streams from coal-fired power plants. When grilling a steak on a steamy summer afternoon, he possibly becomes entangled with the livestock farmers who are clearing forests, causing groundwater contamination, and contributing to global warming.

This issue of *The Social Contract* features five of Lester Brown's recent writings. He reports on the garbage capital of the world (New York), China's dust bowl, history's greatest investment opportunity in future resources, an optimistic insight into the world wind-generating capacity, and an excerpt from his latest work, *Eco-Economy* — the book that has become the mission statement of the Earth Policy Institute. Each article provides an insight into one of our great challenges, even as it offers a glimpse into one of the most perceptive minds of our times. Brown has granted *The Social Contract* an interview in which his personal history and motivational criteria are explored.

Investment promoters and other obligated optimists operate on the unexamined assumption that a finite planet can accommodate all of our hopes and aspirations. Lester Brown strikes back. The specter of global destruction rises to assert itself against his conscience. Yet he wields but a single weapon: his mighty pen. With the power of the word he tirelessly challenges conventional wisdom.

As readers of the accompanying interview will learn, Brown has now become an advocate for more growth. Yes, more growth! Another pro-growther, but of a different stripe. He is now waging a battle for more growth in renewable energy, growth in recycling, growth in responsible agricultural practices, and growth in concern for the future. Under his definition, our finite globe might in fact have the resilience to accommodate perpetual growth.

Concerned readers will want to bookmark Brown's web site at www.earth-policy.org and avail themselves of his frequent "Alerts" which are articles and essays about recent developments in the struggle to balance human welfare with the carrying capacity of planet Earth.

In this quarter's issue, *The Social Contract* tips its hat to the ingenuity, the resourcefulness, the spirit, the determination, and ultimately, the compassion for the future so generously shared by Lester Brown.

JOHN F. ROHE

***John F. Rohe** is an attorney in Petoskey, Michigan with a long-standing concern for the environment. He is the author of* A Bicentennial Malthusian Essay: Conservation and the Indifference to Limits, *as well as* Mary Lou & John Tanton: A Journey into American Conservation. *Both are available from The Social Contract Press, 1-800-352-4843.*

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History's Greatest Investment Opportunity

by Lester R. Brown

As growth in the world economy slows in 2001, attention focuses on such things as excessive inventories, declining consumer confidence, and key countries such as Japan and China with dangerously high levels of bad loans. To this litany has recently been added the economic effects of the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York and the fallout from the worldwide effort to root out terrorism.

But there is a far more basic threat to the global economy, namely the destruction of the natural systems on which it depends. The relationship between the global economy and the earth's ecosystem is an increasingly stressed one. Signs of stress can be seen in the daily news reports of collapsing fisheries, shrinking forests, eroding soils, deteriorating rangelands, expanding deserts, falling water tables, rising temperatures, more destructive storms, melting glaciers, rising sea level, dying coral reefs, and disappearing species.

These trends are taking a growing economic toll. At some point, they could collectively overwhelm the worldwide forces of progress, leading to economic decline. The challenge is to reverse these trends before environmental deterioration leads to long-term economic decline, as it did for so many earlier civilizations.

Demands of the expanding economy, *as now structured*, are surpassing the sustainable yield of ecosystems. Easily a third of the world's cropland is losing topsoil at a rate that is undermining its long-term productivity. Fully half of the world's rangeland is overgrazed and deteriorating into desert. The world's forests have shrunk by about half since the dawn of agriculture and are still shrinking. Two thirds of oceanic fisheries are now being fished at or beyond their capacity; overfishing is now the rule, not the exception. And overpumping of ground water is common in key food-producing regions.

Nigeria is losing over 500 square kilometers of productive land to desert each year. In Kazakhstan, site of the 1950s Soviet Virgin Lands project, half the cropland has been abandoned since 1980 as soil erosion lowered its productivity. This has dropped Kazakhstan's wheat harvest from roughly 13 million tons in 1980 to 8 million tons in 2000 – an economic loss of $900 million per year.

The rangelands that supply much of the world's animal protein are also under excessive pressure. As human populations grow, so do livestock numbers. With 180 million pastoralists worldwide now trying to make a living raising 3.3 billion cattle, sheep, and goats, grasslands are simply collapsing under the demand. In Africa, the annual loss of livestock production from the cumulative degradation of rangeland is estimated at $7 billion, a sum almost equal to the gross domestic product of Ethiopia.

Water tables are falling in the three leading food-producers – China, India, and the United States. Under the North China Plain, which produces twenty-five percent of China's grain, the water table is falling by 1.6 meters (roughly 5 feet) per year. The same thing is happening in the Punjab, India's breadbasket. In the United States, water tables are falling under the southern Great Plains, shrinking the irrigated area.

Economic demands on forests are also excessive. Trees are being cut or burned faster than they can

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***Lester Brown** is founder of the WorldWatch Institute as well as the Earth Policy Institute. This essay is a brief summary of Brown's concerns and proposed changes in policy.*

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regenerate or be planted. Overharvesting is common in Southeast Asia, West Africa, and the Brazilian Amazon. Worldwide, forests are shrinking by over 9 million hectares per year, an area equal to Portugal.

Evidence of excessive human demands can be seen in oceanic fisheries. Many are collapsing, even in industrial countries that should be able to manage them responsibly. In 1992, the rich Newfoundland cod fishery that had been supplying fish for several centuries collapsed abruptly, costing 40,000 Canadians their jobs. Despite a subsequent ban on fishing, nearly a decade later the fishery has yet to recover. Farther to the south, the U.S. Chesapeake Bay has experienced a similar decline. A century ago, this extraordinarily productive estuary produced over 100 million pounds of oysters a year. In 1999, it produced barely 3 million pounds.

"...[C]arbon emissions have overwhelmed the capacity of the earth's ecosystem to fix carbon dioxide... As CO_2 levels have risen, so has the earth's temperature."

Expanding economic activity is also upsetting some of nature's basic balances. With the huge growth in burning of fossil fuels since 1950, carbon emissions have overwhelmed the capacity of the earth's ecosystem to fix carbon dioxide, a greenhouse gas. As CO_2 levels have risen, so has the earth's temperature. The 14 warmest years since record keeping began in 1866 have all occurred since 1980.

One consequence of higher temperatures is more energy driving storm systems. Three powerful winter storms in France in December 1999 destroyed millions of trees, some of which had been standing for centuries. Thousands of buildings were demolished. These storms, the most violent on record in France, wreaked more than $10 billion worth of damage – $170 for each French citizen. Nature was apparently levying a tax of its own on fossil fuel burning.

In October 1998, Hurricane Mitch – one of the most powerful storms ever to come out of the Atlantic – moved through the Caribbean and stalled for several days on the coast of Central America. While there, it acted as a huge pump pulling water from the ocean and dropping it over the land. Parts of Honduras received 2 meters of rainfall within a few days. So powerful was this storm that it altered the topography, converting mountains and hills into vast mud flows that simply inundated whole villages, claiming an estimated 10,000 lives. Four fifths of the crops were destroyed. The huge flow of rushing water removed all the topsoil in many areas, ensuring that this land will not be farmed again during our lifetimes.

The overall economic effect of the storm was devastating. The wholesale destruction of roads, bridges, buildings, and other infrastructure set back the development of Honduras and Nicaragua by decades. The estimated $8.5 billion worth of damage in the region approached the gross domestic product of both countries combined.

What we call natural disasters are often of human origin. Munich Re, one of the world's largest re-insurance companies, reported that three times as many great natural catastrophes occurred during the 1990s as during the 1960s. Economic losses increased eightfold. Insured losses multiplied 15-fold.

Perhaps the most disturbing consequence of rising temperature is ice melting. Over the last thirty-five years, the ice covering the Arctic Sea has thinned by 42 percent. A study by two Norwegian scientists projects that within 50 years there will be no summer ice left in the Arctic Sea.

This particular melting does not affect sea level because the ice is already in the ocean. But the Greenland ice sheet is also starting to melt. Greenland is three times the size of Texas and the ice sheet is up to 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) thick in some areas. An article in *Science* notes that if the entire ice sheet were to melt, it would raise sea level by some 7

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meters (23 feet), inundating the world's coastal cities and Asia's rice-growing river floodplains. The World Bank reports that even a one-meter rise would inundate half of Bangladesh's riceland.

Restructure or Decline

Economic decision-making, whether by political leaders, corporate planners, investment bankers, or individual consumers, is guided by market signals. The market regularly under-prices goods and services by failing to incorporate the environmental costs of providing them.

Consider, for example, the cost of electricity from a coal-fired power plant. It includes building the power plant, mining the coal, transporting it to the power plant, and distributing the electricity to consumers. What it does not include is the cost of climate disruption caused by carbon emissions from coal burning – whether it be more destructive storms, rising sea level, or record heat waves. Nor does it include the damage to freshwater lakes and forests from acid rain, or the health care costs of treating respiratory illnesses caused by air pollution. Thus the market price of coal-fired electricity greatly understates its cost to society.

How do we get the market to tell the ecological truth? One way of getting the market to give the real price of coal-fired electricity would be to have environmental scientists and economists work together to calculate the cost of climate disruption, acid rain, and air pollution. This figure could then be incorporated as a tax on coal-fired electricity that, when added to the current price, would give the full cost of coal use. This procedure, followed across the board, would mean that all economic decision-makers would have the information needed to make more intelligent, ecologically responsible decisions.

China has learned the hard way the cost of distorted prices. After several weeks of near-record flooding in the Yangtze river valley, which displaced 120 million people and inflicted $30 billion worth of damage, the Chinese realized that the principal reason was that the Yangtze river basin, home to 400 million people, had lost 85 percent of its original tree cover. The government announced a ban on all tree cutting in the Yangtze river basin. Trees standing, a government official noted, were worth three times as much as trees cut.

Øystein Dahle, retired Vice President of Esso for Norway and the North Sea, observes, "Socialism collapsed because it did not allow prices to tell the economic truth. Capitalism may collapse because it does not allow prices to tell the ecological truth."

Building an Eco-Economy

Converting our economy into an eco-economy, one that can sustain economic progress, is a monumental undertaking. It is also a monumental investment opportunity, the greatest in history.

Trends in World Energy Use, by Source, 1990-2000

Energy Source	Annual Rate of Growth (%)
Wind Power	25
Solar Cells	20
Geothermal Power	4
Hydroelectric Power	2
Natural Gas	2
Oil	1
Nuclear Power	1
Coal	-1

Source: WorldWatch Institute
Vital Signs 2001
New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

We can now see what an eco-economy looks like. Instead of being run on fossil fuels, it will be powered by sources of energy that derive from the sun, such as wind and sunlight, and by geothermal energy from within the earth. It will be hydrogen-based instead of carbon-based. Cars and buses will run on fuel-cell engines powered by hydrogen instead of internal combustion engines.

Building a new economy involves phasing out old industries, restructuring existing ones, and creating new ones. Within the energy sector, world coal use has dropped seven percent since peaking in 1996. Oil is expanding but only by one percent a year. These contrast sharply with wind and solar cells, which have grown at twenty-five and twenty percent per year over the last decade. (See Table.) And they are only getting started.

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Turning to the Wind

Wind electricity generation, now in its embryonic stage, promises to become the foundation of the new energy economy. Millions of turbines soon will be converting wind into electricity, becoming an integral part of the global landscape. In many countries, wind will supply both electricity and, through the electrolysis of water, hydrogen. Together, electricity and hydrogen can meet all the energy needs of a modern society.

The robustness of the wind turbine industry was evident in 2000 and 2001 when high tech stocks were in a free fall worldwide. While high tech firms as a group were performing poorly, sales of wind turbines from leading manufacturers, such as Vestas and NEG Micon, were soaring, pushing earnings off the top of the charts. Continuing growth of this sector is expected for the next few decades.

Advances in wind turbine technology, drawing heavily on the aerospace industry, have lowered the cost of wind power from 38¢ per kilowatt-hour in the early 1980s to less than 4¢ at prime wind sites in 2001. In some locations, wind is cheaper than oil or gas-fired power. With major corporations such as ABB, Royal Dutch Shell, and Enron plowing resources into this field, further cost cuts are in prospect.

Wind is a vast, worldwide source of energy. In the United States, North Dakota, Kansas, and Texas have enough harnessable wind to meet national electricity needs. China can double its existing generating capacity from wind alone. Densely populated Western Europe can meet all its electricity needs from offshore wind power out to an ocean depth of 30 meters.

As wind generating costs fall and as concern about climate change escalates, more and more countries are climbing onto the wind energy bandwagon. Beginning in December 2000, the scale of world wind energy development climbed to a new level. Early in the month, France announced it will develop 5,000 megawatts of wind power by 2010. Later in the month, Argentina announced a plan to develop 3,000 megawatts of wind power in Patagonia by 2010. Then in April 2001, the United Kingdom accepted offshore bids for 1,500 megawatts of wind power. In May, a report from Beijing indicated that China plans to develop some 2,500 megawatts of wind power by 2005.

The actual growth in wind power is consistently outrunning earlier estimates. The European Wind Energy Association, which in 1996 had set a target of 40,000 megawatts for Europe by 2010, recently upped its goal to 60,000 megawatts.

In the United States, new wind farms have recently come online in Colorado, Iowa, Minnesota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wyoming. (One megawatt of wind generating capacity typically supplies 350 homes.) A 300-megawatt wind farm under construction on the Oregon/Washington border, currently the world's largest, can supply 105,000 homes with electricity. This year, U.S. wind-generating capacity is expected to jump by more than 60 percent.

A 3,000-megawatt wind farm in the early planning stages in east central South Dakota, near the Iowa border, is 10 times the size of the Oregon/Washington wind farm. Named Rolling Thunder, this proposed project, under the leadership of Jim Dehlsen, a wind energy pioneer in California – is designed to feed power into the Midwest around Chicago. It is not only large by wind power standards, it is one of the largest energy projects of any kind in the world today.

"As wind generating costs fall and as concern about climate change escalates, more and more countries are climbing onto the wind energy bandwagon."

Income from wind-generated electricity tends to remain in the community, bolstering local economies by providing local income, jobs, and tax revenue. One large advanced-design wind turbine, occupying a quarter-acre of land, can easily yield a farmer or rancher $2,000 in royalties per

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year while providing the community with $100,000 of electricity.

Once we get cheap electricity from wind, we can use it to electrolyze water, producing hydrogen. Hydrogen is the fuel of choice for the new, highly efficient fuel cell engine on which every major auto manufacturer is now working. DaimlerChrysler and Honda plan to market fuel cell–powered cars by 2003. Ford and Toyota will probably not be far behind.

Surplus wind power can be stored as hydrogen and used in fuel cells or gas turbines to generate electricity, leveling supply when winds are variable. With the technologies for harnessing wind and powering motor vehicles with hydrogen advancing, we can now see a future in which U.S. farmers and ranchers supply not only most of the country's electricity, but much of the hydrogen for its fleet of automobiles as well.

Electricity From the Sun

After wind power, the second fastest growing source of energy – solar cells – is a relatively new one, developed in 1952 by three scientists at Bell Labs in Princeton, New Jersey. Initially very costly, solar cells could be used only for high-value purposes such as providing the electricity to operate satellites. Now they are becoming competitive for household electricity generation in villages in developing countries not yet linked to an electrical grid. In the more remote villages, it is already more economical to install solar cells than to both build a power plant and connect the villages by grid. By the end of 2000, about a million homes worldwide were getting their electricity from solar cell installations, 700,000 of them in Third World villages.

"By the end of 2000, about a million homes worldwide were getting their electricity from solar cell installations, 700,000 of them in Third World villages."

Perhaps the most exciting recent advance in solar cells has been the development in Japan of a photovoltaic roofing material, a material that makes the roof of a building its power plant. A joint effort involving the construction industry, the solar cell manufacturing industry, and the Japanese government plans to have 4,600 megawatts of electrical generating capacity in place by 2010, enough to satisfy all of the electricity needs of a country like Estonia. In some countries, including Germany and Japan, buildings now have a two-way meter – selling electricity to the local utility when they have an excess and buying it when they do not have enough.

Growth in the sales of photovoltaic cells averaged just under 20 percent a year from 1990 to 1999. Then in 2000, sales jumped by 43 percent.

The potential is enormous. Aerial photographs show that even in notoriously cloudy Britain, putting solar cells on the country's existing roofs could generate 68,000 megawatts of power on a bright day, about half of peak power demand.

Natural Gas: Bridge to the Hydrogen Economy

Over the last half-century, the use of natural gas has increased 12-fold. Indeed, in 1999 natural gas eclipsed coal as a world source of energy, making it second only to oil. This growth in natural gas use is fortuitous, because as this energy source grows, the storage and distribution system is also expanding, creating the infrastructure for the eventual switch to a hydrogen economy.

Some major corporations are not only visualizing an eco-economy, but are starting to build it. Royal Dutch Shell and DaimlerChrysler are leading a consortium of corporations that is working with the Icelandic government to make that country the world's first hydrogen-powered economy.

In June 2000, ABB, the Swiss-based giant in the global power industry, with an annual turnover of $24 billion, announced a major restructuring. It indicated that henceforth it would be emphasizing alternative energy

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sources, investing heavily in the development of renewable energy, such as wind. It said that its engineers had designed a new wind turbine called the Wind Former, a machine that reduces generating costs by 20 percent below that of turbines now in use. Looking to the future, ABB sees 755 million households in the world without electricity. The overwhelming majority of these households do not even have access to an electricity grid. For them, ABB believes it will be cheaper to install small-scale power than to invest in large thermal power plants and build a grid, both of which are costly. In its vision of the new energy economy, ABB suggests, for example, that "a small town might be supplied by a mix of combined heat and power generating facilities, wind power, fuel cells, and photovoltaic energy with output from individual sources being adjusted via a micro-grid to compensate for seasonal variations in wind speeds and sunshine."

Many companies have set their own goals for reducing carbon emissions – and they substantially exceed the goals of the Kyoto Protocol. For example, Dupont, measuring its goals in terms of CO_2 equivalent emissions, plans to reduce greenhouse gas emissions 65 percent from 1990 levels.

Firms in some other industries are going even further in setting environmental goals. Among these are Interface, a manufacturer of industrial carpet based in Atlanta, Georgia, and STMicroelectronics, an Italian-based semiconductor manufacturer. Ray Anderson, the CEO of Interface, has become an enthusiastic advocate of building an eco-economy. The Interface plan is to generate no waste and no carbon emissions. Instead of selling carpet to companies, Anderson wants to sell carpeting services, an arrangement whereby Interface agrees to maintain the carpeting in a company's offices for a fixed period, say 10 years. Worn carpet is returned to the factory, melted down, and respun into new fiber. This new carpet then goes on the floor. "Our goal," Anderson says, "is not to lose a single molecule of carpeting material." This system, which requires no raw materials and sends nothing to the landfill, closes the loop.

STMicroelectronics, one of the world's largest manufacturer of semiconductors, is also committed to an environmentally sustainable operation. Pasquale Pistorio, president and CEO, matches the fervor of Ray Anderson. After being ranked first in eco-efficiency among 14 semiconductor companies worldwide, Pistorio said that "none of ST's environmental initiatives have taken more than three years to pay back, while our reputation as the semiconductor industry's 'green leader' helps us to attract the young, talented engineers that are essential to sustain our growth and keep us at the leading edge of the industry that is transforming the world."

Like Anderson, Pistorio also wants to build an environmentally benign corporation, and to do it by 2010. The company plans to reduce carbon emissions by shifting to an energy mix for 2010 that relies on cogeneration for 65 percent of its energy, conventional sources for 30 percent, and renewables for 5 percent. This will still leave it with a net contribution of CO_2 into the atmosphere, which it plans to offset by planting enough trees to sequester roughly 1 million tons of carbon emissions per year. The company's net revenues in 1999 exceeded $5 billion, with net earnings of $547 million; in 2000, net revenues were estimated at $6.7 billion, with earnings of $1.3 billion.

These two firms are models of eco-economy corporations. Both CEOs support a restructuring of the tax system, one that reduces income taxes and raises taxes on environmentally destructive activities, including climate-disrupting carbon emissions. These two firms, in different industries and from different cultures, have identical goals. Each wants to build a corporation that meets human needs, provides generous profits to stockholders, and does it in a way that does not destroy or disrupt the economy's natural support systems.

No sector of the global economy will be untouched by the economic restructuring. In this new economy, some companies will be winners and some will be losers. Those who anticipate the emerging eco-economy and plan for it will be the winners. Those who cling to the past risk becoming part of it. ■

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Dust Bowl Threatening China's Future

by Lester R. Brown

On April 18, 2001, scientists at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) laboratory in Boulder, Colorado, reported that a huge dust storm from northern China had reached the United States "blanketing areas from Canada to Arizona with a layer of dust." They reported that along the foothills of the Rockies the mountains were obscured by the dust from China.

This dust storm did not come as a surprise. On March 10, 2001, *The People's Daily* reported that the season's first dust storm – one of the earliest on record – had hit Beijing. These dust storms, coupled with those of last year, were among the worst in memory, signaling a widespread deterioration of the rangeland and cropland in the country's vast northwest.

These huge dust plumes routinely travel hundreds of miles to populous cities in northeastern China, including Beijing, obscuring the sun, reducing visibility, slowing traffic, and closing airports. Reports of residents in eastern cities caulking windows with old rags to keep out the dust are reminiscent of the U.S. dust bowl of the 1930s.

Eastward moving winds often carry soil from China's northwest to North Korea, South Korea, and Japan, countries that regularly complain about dust clouds that both filter out the sunlight and cover everything with dust. Responding to pressures from their constituents, a group of fifteen legislators from Japan and eight from South Korea are organizing a tri-national committee with Chinese lawmakers to devise a strategy to combat the dust.

News reports typically attribute the dust storms to the drought of the last three years, but the drought is simply bringing a fast-deteriorating situation into focus. Human pressure on the land in northwestern China is excessive. There are too many people, too many cattle and sheep, and too many plows. Feeding 1.3 billion people, a population nearly five times that of the United States, is not an easy matter.

In addition to local pressures on resources, a decision in Beijing in 1994 to require that all cropland used for construction be offset by land reclaimed elsewhere has helped create the ecological disaster that is now unfolding. In an article in *Land Use Policy*, Chinese geographers Hong Yang and Xiubein Li describe the environmental effects of this offset policy. The fast-growing coastal provinces, such as Guandong, Shandong, Xheijiang, and Jiangsu, which are losing cropland to urban expansion and industrial construction, are paying other provinces to plow new land to offset their losses. This provided an initial economic windfall for provinces in the northwest, such as Inner Mongolia (which led the way with a 22-percent cropland expansion), Gansu, Qinghai, Ningxia, and Xinjiang.

As the northwestern provinces, already suffering from overplowing and overgrazing, plowed ever more marginal land, wind erosion intensified. Now accelerating wind erosion of soil and the resulting land abandonment are forcing people to migrate eastward, not unlike the U.S. westward migration from the southern Great Plains to California during the Dust Bowl years.

While plows are clearing land, expanding livestock populations are denuding the land of vegetation. Following economic reforms in 1978 and the removal of controls on the size of herds

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Lester R. Brown *is the author of* Who Will Feed China? *(W. W. Norton, 1995).* *This article, dated May 23, is copyright 2001 by the Earth Policy Institute.*

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and flocks that collectives could maintain, livestock populations grew rapidly. Today China has 127 million cattle compared with 98 million in the United States. Its flock of 279 million sheep and goats compares with only 9 million in the United States.

In Gonge County in eastern Quinghai Province, the number of sheep that local grasslands can sustain is estimated at 3.7 million, but by the end of 1998, sheep numbers there had reached 5.5 million, far beyond the land's carrying capacity. The result is fast-deteriorating grassland, desertification, and the formation of sand dunes.

In the *New York Times*, Beijing Bureau Chief Erik Eckholm writes that "the rising sands are part of a new desert forming here on the eastern edge of the Quinghai-Tibet Plateau, a legendary stretch once known for grass reaching as high as a horse's belly and home for centuries to ethnic Tibetan herders." Official estimates show 900 square miles (2,330 square kilometers) of land going to desert each year. An area several times as large is suffering a decline in productivity as it is degraded by overuse.

In addition to the direct damage from overplowing and overgrazing, the northern half of China is literally drying out as rainfall declines and aquifers are depleted by overpumping. Water tables are falling almost everywhere, gradually altering the region's hydrology. As water tables fall, springs dry up, streams no longer flow, lakes disappear, and rivers run dry. U.S. satellites, which have been monitoring land use in China for some 30 years, show that literally thousands of lakes in the North have disappeared.

Deforestation in southern and eastern China is reducing the moisture transported inland from the South China Sea, the East China Sea, and the Yellow Sea, writes Wang Hongchang, a Fellow at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Where land is forested, the water is held and evaporates to be carried further inland. When tree cover is removed, the initial rainfall from the inland-moving, moisture-laden air simply runs off and returns to the sea. As this recycling of rainfall inland is weakened by deforestation, rainfall in the interior is declining.

What Can Be Done to Reverse the Process?

Reversing this degradation means stabilizing population and planting trees everywhere possible to help recycle rainfall inland. It means converting highly erodible cropland back to grassland or woodland, reducing the livestock population, and planting tree shelter belts across the windswept areas of cropland, as U.S. farmers did to end dust storms in the 1930s.

In addition, another interesting option now presents itself – the use of wind turbines as windbreaks to reduce wind speed and soil erosion. With the cost of wind-generated electricity now competitive with that generated from fossil fuels, constructing rows of wind turbines in strategic areas to slow the wind could greatly reduce the erosion of soil. This also affords an opportunity to phase out the use of wood for fuel, thus lightening the pressure on forests.

The economics are extraordinarily attractive. In the Great Plains of the United States, under conditions similar to China's northwest, a large advanced design wind turbine occupying a tenth of a hectare of land can produce $100,000 worth of electricity per year. This source of rural economic regeneration fits in nicely with China's plan to develop the impoverished northwest.

Reversing desertification will require a huge effort, but if the dust bowl continues to spread, it will not only undermine the economy, but it will also trigger a massive migration eastward. The options are clear: reduce livestock populations to a sustainable level or face heavy livestock losses as grassland turns to desert; return highly erodible cropland to grassland or lose all of the land's productive capacity as it turns to desert; construct windbreaks with a combination of trees and, where feasible, wind turbines, to slow the wind or face even more soil losses and dust storms.

If China cannot quickly arrest the trends of deterioration, the growth of the dust bowl could acquire an irreversible momentum. What is at stake is not just China's soil, but its future. ■

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New York: Garbage Capital of the World

by Lester R. Brown

The question of what to do with the 11,000 tons of garbage produced each day in New York City has again surfaced, this time with Mayor Michael Bloomberg's budget, which proposes to halt the recycling of metal, glass and plastic to save money. Unfortunately, this would mean more garbage to dispose of when the goal should be less.

The city's garbage problem has three faces. It is an economic problem, an environmental challenge, and a potential public relations nightmare. When the Fresh Kills landfill, the local destination for New York's garbage, was permanently closed in March 2001, the city found itself hauling garbage to distant landfill sites in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia – some of the sites 300 miles away.

Assuming a load of 20 tons of garbage for each of the tractor trailers used for the long-distance hauling, some 550 rigs are needed to move garbage from New York City each day. These tractor trailers form a convoy nearly nine miles long, impeding traffic, polluting the air, and raising carbon emissions. This daily convoy led Deputy Mayor Joseph J. Lhota, who supervised the Fresh Kills shutdown, to say that getting rid of the city's trash is now "like a military-style operation on a daily basis."

Instead of rapidly reducing the amount of garbage generated as Fresh Kills was filling, the decision was made simply to haul it all elsewhere. Fiscally strapped local communities in other states are willing to take New York's garbage – if they are paid enough. Some see it as a bonanza. For the state governments, however, that are saddled with increased road maintenance costs, the arrangement is not so attractive. They also have to contend with the traffic congestion, noise, increased air pollution, and complaints from nearby communities.

Virginia Governor Jim Gilmore wrote to Mayor Rudy Giuliani in 2001 complaining about the use of Virginia as a dumping ground. "I understand the problem New York faces," he noted. "But the home state of Washington, Jefferson and Madison has no intention of becoming New York's dumping ground."

The new governor of Virginia, Mark Warner, proposed in early April 2002 a tax of $5 per ton on all solid waste deposited in Virginia. This is expected to generate an annual cash flow of $76 million for the Virginia treasury, but it will not help New York with its economic woes.

In Pennsylvania, the General Assembly is considering legislation that would restrict garbage imports from other states. As landfills in adjacent states begin to fill up, there will be progressively fewer sites to take New York's garbage, pushing disposal costs ever higher.

Landfilling garbage uses land. For every 40,000 tons of garbage added to a landfill at least one acre of land is lost to future use. A large surrounding area is also lost as the landfill with its potentially toxic wastes must be isolated from residential areas.

Mayor Bloomberg's office has proposed incineration as the solution to the garbage mess. But burning 11,000 tons of garbage each day will only add to air pollution, making already unhealthy city air even worse. Like hauling the garbage to distant sites, incineration treats the symptoms, not the causes of New York's mountain of garbage.

The amount of garbage

***Lester Brown**, in this essay, looks to one of the domestic strains resulting from monumental levels of consumption. Copyright 2002, the "Alert" was published by the Earth Policy Institute on April 17.*

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produced in the city is a manifestation of a more fundamental problem – the evolution of a global throwaway economy. Throwaway products, facilitated by the appeal to convenience and the artificially low cost of energy, account for much of the garbage we produce. (See Chapter 6 of *Eco-Economy*.)

It is easy to forget how many throwaway products there are until we actually begin making a list. We have substituted facial tissues for handkerchiefs, disposable paper towels for hand towels, disposable table napkins for cloth napkins, and throwaway beverage containers for refillable ones. In perhaps the ultimate insult, the shopping bags that are used to carry home throwaway products are themselves designed to be discarded, becoming part of the garbage flow. The question at the supermarket checkout counter, "Paper or plastic?" should be replaced with, "Do you have your canvas shopping bag with you?"

The challenge we now face is to replace the throwaway economy with a reduce/ reuse/ recycle economy. The earth can no longer tolerate the pollution, the energy use, the disruption from mining, and the deforestation that the throwaway economy requires. For cities like New York, the challenge is not so much what to do with the garbage as it is how to avoid producing it in the first place.

New York recycles only 18 percent of its municipal waste. Los Angeles recycles 44 percent and Chicago 47 percent. Seattle and Minneapolis are both near 60 percent recycling rates. But even they are not close to exploiting the full potential of garbage recycling.

There are many ways of shrinking the daily mountain of garbage. One is simply to ban the use of one-way beverage containers, something that Denmark and Finland have done. Denmark, for example, banned one-way soft drink containers in 1977 and beer containers in 1981. If Mayor Bloomberg wants a closer example of this approach, he need only go to Prince Edward Island in Canada, which has adopted a similar ban on one-way containers.

There are other gains from reusing beverage containers. Since refillable containers are simply back-hauled to the original soft drink or brewery bottling sites by the same trucks that deliver the beverages, they reduce not only garbage but also traffic congestion, energy use, and air pollution.

We have the technologies to recycle virtually all the components of garbage. For example, Germany now gets 72 percent of its paper from recycled fiber. With glass, aluminum, and plastic, potential recycling rates are even higher.

The nutrients in garbage can also be recycled by composting organic materials, including yard waste, table waste, and produce waste from supermarkets. Each year, the world mines 139 million tons of phosphate rock and 20 million tons of potash to obtain the phosphorus and potassium needed to replace the nutrients that crops remove from the soil. Urban composting that would return nutrients to the land could greatly reduce this expenditure on nutrients and the disruption caused by their mining.

"For cities like New York, the challenge is not so much what to do with the garbage as it is how to avoid producing it in the first place."

Yet another garbage-reducing step in this fiscally stressed situation would be to impose a tax on all throwaway products, in effect a landfill tax, so that those who use throwaway products would directly bear the cost of disposing of them. This would increase revenues while reducing garbage disposal expenditures, helping to reduce the city's fiscal deficit.

There are numerous win-win-win solutions that are economically attractive, environmentally desirable, and that will help avoid the unfolding public relations debacle created by the image of New York as garbage capital of the world.

A response to this situation that treats the causes rather than the symptoms of garbage generation could work wonders for the city. ■

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World Wind Generation

Capacity jumps 31 percent in 2001

by Lester R. Brown

Preliminary data show world wind electric generating capacity climbing from 17,800 megawatts in 2000 to an estimated 23,300 megawatts in 2001 – a dramatic one-year gain of 5,500 megawatts or 31 percent. As generating costs continue to fall and as public concern about climate change escalates, the world is fast turning to wind for its electricity.

Since 1995, world wind-generating capacity has increased an astounding 487 percent, or nearly fivefold. During the same period, the use of coal, the principal alternative for generating electricity, declined by 9 percent.

One megawatt of wind-generating capacity typically will satisfy the electricity needs of 350 households in an industrial society, or roughly 1,000 people. Thus, the 23,300 megawatts of generating capacity now in place is sufficient to meet the residential electricity needs of some 23 million people – equal to the combined population of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden.

In wind electric-generating capacity, Germany leads the world with 8,000 megawatts, nearly a third of the total. The United States, which launched the modern wind power industry in California in the early 1980s, follows with 4,150 megawatts. Spain is in third place, with 3,300 megawatts. Denmark, which is fourth with 2,500 megawatts, now gets 18 percent of its electricity from wind. Two thirds of the capacity added in 2001 was concentrated in the top three countries: Germany added 1,890 megawatts; the United States, 1,600; and Spain, 1,065. For the United States, this translates into a growth in generating capacity of some 63 percent in 2001.

Despite this spectacular growth, development of the earth's wind resources has barely begun. In densely populated Europe, there is enough easily accessible offshore wind energy to meet all of the region's electricity needs. In the United States, there is enough harnessable wind energy in just 3 of the 50 states – North Dakota, Kansas, and Texas – to satisfy the country's electricity needs. And China can easily double its current electricity generation from wind alone.

In the United States, the cost of wind-generated electricity has fallen from 35 cents per kilowatt-hour in the mid-1980s to 4 cents per kilowatt-hour at prime wind sites in 2001. (See figure.) Some recent long-term supply contracts have been signed for 3 cents per kilowatt-hour. With the U.S. adoption of a wind production tax credit in 1993 to offset established subsidies for oil, coal, and nuclear power, growth surged. New wind farms have come online in recent years in Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, Washington, and Wyoming.

Low-cost electricity from wind brings the option of electrolyzing water to produce hydrogen, which can easily be stored and used to fuel gas-fired turbines in backup power plants when wind power ebbs. Over time, hydrogen produced with wind-generated electricity is the leading candidate to replace natural gas in gas-fired power plants as gas reserves are depleted.

Hydrogen is also the ideal fuel for the fuel cell engines that every major automobile manufacturer is now working on. Honda and DaimlerChrysler both plan to have fuel cell-powered vehicles on the market in 2003.

Wind power offers long-term price stability and energy independence. Not only are costs low and falling, but with wind-generated electricity there are no abrupt price hikes, as with natural

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gas. There is no OPEC for wind, because wind is widely dispersed. An inexhaustible source of energy, wind offers us more energy than we can use, and it does not disrupt climate.

Investment in wind turbine manufacture and wind development has been highly profitable. While high-tech firms as a group suffered a disastrous fall in sales, earnings, and stock value in 2001, sales in the wind industry soared. For example, at Danish-based Nordex, one of the world's largest turbine manufacturers, turnover during the first nine months of 2001 was up 19 percent and new orders were up 56 percent.

Even more impressive than the recent growth in generating capacity are the plans for future growth. The European Wind Energy Association has recently revised its 2010 wind capacity projections for Europe from 40,000 megawatts to 60,000 megawatts.

France, for instance, which for years had ignored wind power, announced in December 2000 that it would develop 5,000 megawatts of wind-generating capacity during this decade. A few weeks later, Argentina announced it was planning to develop 3,000 megawatts of wind-generating capacity in Patagonia. In April 2001, the United Kingdom sold offshore lease rights for an estimated 1,500 megawatts of wind-generating capacity to several different bidders, including Shell Oil. And in May, a report from Beijing indicated that China would develop up to 2,500 megawatts of wind capacity by 2005.

"The 300-megawatt Stateline Wind Project under construction on the border between Oregon and Washington will be the world's largest wind farm."

In the United States, wind-generating capacity is growing by leaps and bounds. The 300-megawatt Stateline Wind Project under construction on the border between Oregon and Washington will be the world's largest wind farm. Texas added some 900 megawatts in several projects during 2001. In South Dakota, Jim Dehlsen, a pioneer in developing California's wind energy, has secured the wind rights to 222,000 acres of farm and ranchland in the east central part of the state. He plans to develop a huge 3,000-megawatt wind farm and to transmit the electricity across Iowa, supplying Illinois and other states in the industrial Midwest.

In Europe, offshore projects are now springing up off the coasts of Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Scotland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

A survey of some seventy wind-energy developers in Germany indicates that they plan to install 2,500 megawatts of capacity in 2002 and a similar amount in 2003. If they succeed, they will surpass the German government's 2010 goal of 12,500 megawatts by the end of 2003.

Projecting future growth in such a dynamic industry is complicated, but once a country has developed 100 megawatts of wind-generating capacity, it tends to move quickly to develop its wind resources. The United States crossed this threshold in 1983. In Denmark, this occurred in 1987. In Germany, it was 1991, followed by India in 1994 and Spain in 1995.

By the end of 1999, Canada, China, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the United Kingdom had crossed this threshold. During 2000, Greece, Ireland, and Portugal joined the list. And in 2001, it was France and Japan. As of early 2002, some 16 countries, containing half the world's people, have entered the fast-growth phase.

Wind energy in the form of electricity and hydrogen can satisfy all the various energy needs of a modern economy. Abundant, inexhaustible, and cheap, wind promises to become the foundation of the new energy economy. We can now see the shape of this new economy emerging as wind turbines replace coal mines, hydrogen generators replace oil refineries, and fuel cell engines replace internal combustion engines. ■

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At Least Someone Is Watching Our World

An interview with Lester Brown

by John F. Rohe

The Social Contract asked John Rohe to interview Lester Brown of the Earth Policy Institute as an introduction to a sampling of his writings in this quarter's feature section.

JOHN ROHE: Today is July 18, 2002. My name is John Rohe and on the phone with me is Lester Brown of the Earth Policy Institute. Good afternoon, Mr. Brown.

LESTER BROWN: Hi John.

JFR: The readership of The Social Contract *will know of you. History precedes you here. Let's discuss the things that aren't always reported: your personal history, how you came to the Earth Policy Institute, and why. But first, where you were born?*

LB: In Bridgeton, New Jersey. This is way down at the southern end of the state, where the Delaware River turns east and becomes Delaware Bay.

JFR: What year?

LB: 1934. The same year as Bridget Bardot!

JFR: Hopefully, she reminds all her friends of that fact. Did you have any siblings?

LB: Yes, a brother three years younger, and a sister who is twelve years younger.

JFR: Did you basically stay in Bridgeton, New Jersey during your early years?

LB: Yes. It was actually a rural community and Bridgeton was the town with the county seat. I was born in a farming community, and lived there until I left for Washington. Initially my father was a hired hand on a large farm and he rented a farm for a few years. We sharecropped for a few years, and then by the time I was nine years old, he bought a small farm. This was in 1943. It became the family farm. That's where we lived. My niece and her husband now live in the farmhouse.

JFR: How many acres were there?

LB: Forty acres, and we used to rent some additional land too. We had cattle, usually between a dozen and twenty cows, some pigs and chickens, and field crops as well as some cash crops of tomatoes, peppers, and asparagus for local processing.

JFR: Did you have a little roadside stand too?

LB: No we did not.

JFR: Were you working on the farm alongside your father and mother?

LB: Working there, but in our early teens, my brother and I started our own farming operation of growing tomatoes. We bought an old tractor for a couple hundred dollars, overhauled it, got it running, and rented a couple of fields. We gradually expanded. That started around 1948. And then, by 1958, we were producing and marketing a million-and-a-half pounds of tomatoes per year.

JFR: You and your brother?

LB: Yes. We hired a lot of people to pick the tomatoes. Of course, it took a good-sized crew to do all that. I graduated from Rutgers in 1955 with a major in agricultural science. In 1956, I spent the last half of the year living in villages in India under a program run by the National 4-H Foundation, called the International Farm Youth Exchange Program. It was an exchange program set up after World War II where young farmers from the U.S. lived with farm families in about forty countries around the world and young farmers from those countries came to the U.S. I was

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***John F. Rohe** is an attorney in Petoskey, Michigan. His most recent book is entitled* Mary Lou & John Tanton: A Journey Into American Conservation, *FAIR Horizon Press, 2002.*

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one of ten young farmers who went to India in 1956.

JFR: In many of your writings you cover the relationship that we as humans must have with our surroundings on this finite planet. I wonder if there were any early experiences, before we leave your childhood, that planted the notion of sustainability in your mind?

LB: There probably were a couple of things. One was growing up in a farming environment. I understood the relationship between us and the natural systems on which we depend. And also another thing that influenced me a great deal, I think, is that living on a farm we tended to be by ourselves quite a bit. I did a lot of reading whenever I had the time.

JFR: Were you influenced by the literature?

LB: We had to do the milking every morning and night, and the other chores, but whenever I had a chance, I read. I read a lot of biographies. There was a series of biographies written at the grade-school level about Kit Carson, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Abraham Lincoln, and Benjamin Franklin. I think I was very much influenced by that, and drawn to the issues. For Washington and that generation, the great issue was independence. For Lincoln, it was the slavery issue. For me, it became the sustainability issue. I think that this is the challenge of our generation.

JFR: Did you eventually leave the farm?

LB: We left for India in August, 1956, by ship. My brother took care of the tomato harvest that year. The tomatoes were just starting to ripen as I was leaving. I farmed for two years then left for Washington.

JFR: Your readings of the biographies of Washington and Lincoln did not, as such, bring you face-to-face with notions of sustainability, but rather they brought you in contact with people blazing a new trail. They were on the frontiers of a new issue, and you could see how they were trying to carry the ball over the goal line for those issues. I assume you drew inspiration from them in that manner, as distinguished from gleaning specific insight on sustainability.

LB: Right. They were attracted to the great issues of their time, and I think that initially, at the subconscious level, I also was beginning to look at the great issues – living in Indian villages and getting a sense of what population pressure is about, even in 1956, when there were only 450 million people living there, as I recall. It began to suggest to me that the food, population, and sustainability issues were going to be the issues for our generation.

JFR: Did you have a sense of that before going to India, or was the trail in India a road to Damascus conversion?

LB: I'd gone to Rutgers and majored in general agricultural science. I could select whatever courses in science that I wanted that would be feasible to someone who wanted to grow tomatoes for the rest of his life. When I went to India, and after I came back, I still planned to grow tomatoes. It was not until a couple years later that I began to realize that just growing tomatoes was not going to be all that satisfying.

"It began to suggest to me that the food, population, and sustainability issues were going to be the issues for our generation."

JFR: When you say a couple years later, you're talking about even after returning home from India?

LB: That's right. While in India, I did not realize that this was really affecting me. But, in fact, it was. It took a couple of years before I began to realize that I really wanted to work on world food issues.

JFR: What were some of the other causative events in your life, after India, that led you down this path?

LB: Well, I think the main thing was realizing that in growing tomatoes, we had, in a sense, done that. We could have grown more, but we were probably in the upper one-percent in size of operation on the East Coast already. It just didn't seem that challenging anymore. Having been in India and lived in villages with Indian families began to suggest itself as a big challenge for the future. Based on that, I wanted to join the Foreign Agricultural Service in the U.S.

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Department of Agriculture in Washington. But to do that, I needed a degree in agricultural economics. So I wintered over in College Park for just two semesters and did everything including the dissertation so I could join the Foreign Agricultural Service, which I did on June 1, 1959. That's when Eisenhower was in the White House and Ezra Taft Benson from Utah was the Secretary of Agriculture. My early time there was spent working on the rice bowl countries in Asia.

JFR: Did you return to College Park?

LB: I stopped over at the University of Maryland sort of en route to Washington.

JFR: So once you graduated from Rutgers, and you were basically done there, then you went to College Park?

LB: Yes.

JFR: And then did you continue with your education?

LB: After I had been in the department for a couple of years, 1959 to 1961, I went to Harvard to get a masters degree in public administration.

JFR: And when did you graduate from Harvard?

LB: 1962.

JFR: After graduating from Harvard, you are still twelve years away from founding the WorldWatch Institute.

LB: Right.

JFR: What took place in the interval?

LB: After returning from Harvard, I began expanding beyond the Asian countries and working on world situations. I did the first systematic set of projections of population, land, food, and resources to the end of the century.

JFR: And who did you do this for?

LB: I did that at the Economic Research Service in the Department of Agriculture. After the reorganization between Eisenhower and Kennedy, my group was moved from the Foreign Agriculture Service to the Economic Research Service, but it was still basically the same thing, just in a slightly different structural setting. So I did the book *Man, Land and Food*, looking ahead at world food needs. It was published in November of 1963.

JFR: Was that a publication of the Department of Agriculture?

LB: Yes. And the report made a big splash because it was a pioneering effort at the time. We were just getting to take some longer-term looks at the future as we had come out of the early post-war period. Then in the beginning of January 1964, *U.S. News & World Report* did a cover story on the report. It was a four-page summary of the report. It picked up all the highlights in graphic format. That launched food as a global issue and, in a sense, me as well.

JFR: This must have afforded a great deal of credibility for you and your causes. Your research presumably put you in close contact with the necessary sources of data and statistics.

LB: Right.

JFR: I gather than no small part of your career involves just that; finding the numbers, stalking the statistics, and having them make sense for people who otherwise wouldn't know where to look.

LB: I think it was Sir Francis Bacon who said a scientist is someone who looks at a set of numbers until patterns begin to appear. And that is sort of what I was doing. My goal, once I was in the Foreign Agriculture Service, even when I was working initially with the rice bowl countries in Asia, was to understand world agriculture. I just worked day and night every day to study it. Then when the opportunity came to do this study in 1963, I was ready. Shortly after that, I became special assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, and he found me helpful because he had to make decisions on everything from commodity prices, to trade policy, to food aid development assistance. Many people held pieces of valuable information. If you wanted to do something on cotton, there were cotton specialists. If you wanted to do something on different trade policies, there were trade specialists, there were nutrition people, but there were very few people who could look at the big picture and see the issue in a broader perspective. That is what my specialty became – the big-picture analysis. This helped the Secretary to understand the options he was facing and the consequences of the various policy choices.

JFR: Were the sources of your information readily available or did you really have to roll up your sleeves

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and arrange for data to be gathered?

LB: I did a lot of things. For example, I was asked to go to India in the fall of 1965 to review the agricultural part of the next five-year plan. While there, I began to sense that India was experiencing a monsoon failure. This experience is actually described in *Full House*, the book I did five or six years ago.

JFR: That was a great book.

LB: There is a Foreword in that of about four or five pages describing that experience. The bottom line was that India was having a monsoon failure and was facing massive famine. I worked on the effort to get wheat shipped. We eventually shipped a fifth of our wheat crop to India that following year to avert famine. And then they had a second monsoon failure the next year. So for two years in a row, we shipped a huge amount of wheat, about two shiploads leaving every day for India. It was the largest shipment of food between two countries in world history.

"We moved ten million tons into India that year. It was quite an interesting experience. We also used that experience to force India to undertake a number of key economic reforms."

JFR: How did you do it?

LB: Conventional wisdom suggested you couldn't get more than four million tons through India's ports. We did some interesting things. I was not responsible for this, but we had some guys in the Department who had been in the Quartermaster Corps, the logistics arm of the army in World War II. They helped figure out that we could lease from Esso, now Exxon, the largest tanker that was then afloat. It was called *The Manhattan.* We anchored it in the Bay of Bengal, and we leased it for several months. On one side, the incoming ships would unload. It would become a huge grain storage facility. On the other side, we had the small boats, called dhows, that would go up the Ganges and the tributaries that were very small. We had hundreds of them being loaded all at the same time. We moved ten million tons into India that year. It was quite an interesting experience. We also used that experience to force India to undertake a number of key economic reforms. For example, they had an agricultural price policy, which consisted of food ceiling prices in the cities. We wanted to convert that into support prices to encourage farmers to invest in agriculture. So, there was a whole series of reforms that were instituted in response to the food aid from the United States.

JFR: Now we're inching our way toward 1974. Can you report on other events that led up to the foundation of the WorldWatch Institute?

LB: Late in 1968, Nixon was elected president. By that time I had become the administrator of the newly established International Agriculture Development Service. This was something President Kennedy had worked on with Secretary Freeman to establish an agency that would take advantage of the vast technical resources of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, from foresters, to cooperatives, to research, to soil conservation. I was heading that agency from 1966 onward. We were subcontracting the agricultural program in about forty countries. I gained a lot of experience from that. The day before Nixon took office in 1969, I resigned because I was politically expendable and would have been expended. I didn't have any desire to work with Nixon either. I helped Jim Grant, the late head of UNICEF, to start the Overseas Development Council. I was there for five years, and I began to see the need for a research institute to work exclusively on global environmental problems.

JFR: That obviously led to your forming the WorldWatch Institute in 1974?

LB: Right. The Rockefeller brothers gave me a half-million dollars to start the WorldWatch Institute.

JFR: That was the catalyst, the $500,000.

LB: Yes.

JFR: I know you're still active with it. What is its annual budget now?

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LB: The budget is over four million dollars a year with a staff of about thirty or so. I moved from being president to chairman of the board, and then, in January, I stepped down as chairman. I'm still on the board, but most of my energies are now devoted to things we're doing here at Earth Policy Institute.

JFR: Did the move from president to chair start your shift from WorldWatch Institute to Earth Policy Institute?

LB: Right.

JFR: Tell me about that transition. What caused you to form the Earth Policy Institute?

LB: Well, after I became chairman of the board of WorldWatch I had, for the first time in decades, more time to think, because I didn't have to manage it. I didn't have to do all the fund-raising, as well as full-time research and writing. With more time to think, there were some things that I obviously wanted to do. I wanted to write a book that would sketch out a vision of what an environmentally sustainable economy would look like.

JFR: Is that your book entitled Eco-Economy*?*

LB: Right. And that's because within the environmental movement, from Rachel Carson forward, we [in the environmental movement] have been against things. It is not always clear what we're for. It seemed to me that we needed a positive image to rally around and to share. If we don't have a shared sense of where we want to go, we're probably not going to get there.

JFR: Or, as it is otherwise said, if you don't know where you're going, any road will get you there.

LB: Right.

JFR: So, Eco-Economy *becomes the mission statement for EPI?*

LB: Yes. That is what Earth Policy is all about.

JFR: Was it difficult for WorldWatch to move in that direction, or do you see WorldWatch remaining an organization with its finger on the pulse of statistics?

LB: I think more the latter. Not everyone could do research also. A good visionary, if you will. I think one of the things that identifies me is a sense of where we want to go and how to get there. It is kind of a big picture set of issues you're dealing with. Not everyone is comfortable doing that.

JFR: That's how many non-profits seem to operate. Eventually they find a fork in the road. Some people shift over, and others are comfortable staying where they are. I can see a strong cooperative relationship between the two organizations that you founded, and will forever be associated with your name. Are there other organizations that you were active in founding?

LB: Yes. I helped Jim Grant start the Overseas Development Council, but I was not really the founder. I was just in an assisting role there. And then WorldWatch and Earth Policy Institute are the two that I've done on my own.

JFR: There are such formidable forces out there. I know you and I have spoken at conferences on this. It is everywhere. You can't open up the business report of a newspaper or magazine without confronting the basic assumption that growth is good, more growth is better, and the belief that a finite planet can somehow accommodate perpetual growth. Where do you see the massive infrastructure of growth taking us?

LB: It seems to me that the key is probably not taking on the growth issue directly and saying you can't keep growing, but rather to talk about what kind of growth we need and where. We need enormous growth in wind energy and solar cell manufacturing. We need to expand the food production in developing countries. We need to invest heavily in a whole new industry of water efficiency as we have with energy efficiency for the last couple of decades now. So I talk about the growth opportunities and the kind of growth. If we begin to do that, some of the other issues will take care of themselves.

JFR: So, it is still growth. It is just channeling that growth in a more sensible manner.

LB: It may or may not be. We don't have to determine that.

JFR: Les, I hope that you and I will be able to bump into each other again along the way. It is just a great privilege to have this opportunity to speak with you.

LB: Thanks John.

JFR: Thank you, sir. ■

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Eco-Economy

Building an economy for the earth

by Lester Brown

In 1543, Polish astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus published "On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres," in which he challenged the view that the Sun revolved around the earth, arguing instead that the earth revolved around the Sun. With his new model of the solar system, he began a wide-ranging debate among scientists, theologians, and others. His alternative to the earlier Ptolemaic model, which had the earth at the center of the universe, led to a revolution in thinking, to a new worldview.[1]

Today we need a similar shift in our worldview, in how we think about the relationship between the earth and the economy. The issue now is not which celestial sphere revolves around the other but whether the environment is part of the economy or the economy is part of the environment.

The differences between ecology and economics are fundamental. For example, ecologists worry about limits, while economists tend not to recognize any such constraints. Ecologists, taking their cue from nature, think in terms of cycles, while economists are more likely to think linearly, or curvilinearly. Economists look at the unprecedented growth of the global economy and of international trade and investment and see a promising future with more of the same. Ecologists look at this same growth and realize that it is the product of burning vast quantities of artificially cheap fossil fuels, a process that is destabilizing the climate. While economists see booming economic indicators, ecologists see an economy that is altering the climate with consequences that no one can foresee.[2]

Ecologists view the market with less reverence because they see a market that is not telling the truth. They know that a stable relationship between the economy and the earth's ecosystem is essential if economic progress is to be sustained.

Although the idea that economics must be integrated into ecology may seem radical to many, evidence is mounting that it is the only approach that reflects reality. When observations no longer support theory, it is time to change the theory — what science historian Thomas Kuhn calls a paradigm shift. If the economy is a sub-set of the earth's ecosystem, as I contend, the only formulation of economic policy that will succeed is one that respects the principles of ecology.[4]

Economy Self-destructing

Although many of us live in a high-tech urbanized society, we are as dependent on the earth's natural systems as our hunter-gatherer forebears were. To put ecosystems in economic terms, a natural system, such as a fishery, functions like an endowment. The interest income from an endowment will continue in perpetuity as long as the endowment is maintained. If the endowment is drawn down, income declines. If the endowment is eventually depleted, the interest income disappears. And so it is with natural systems. If the sustainable yield of a fishery is exceeded, fish stocks begin to shrink. Eventually stocks are depleted and the fishery collapses. The cash flow from this endowment disappears as well.

As we begin the twenty-first century, our economy is slowly destroying its support systems, consuming its endowment of natural capital. Demands of the

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***Lester Brown** is founder of the Earth Policy Institute. This essay is excerpted from his book,* Eco-Economy: Building An Economy for the Earth *(W. W. Norton), which defines problems and offers solutions in the form of suggested policy changes. In addition to being available at bookstores, the book can be downloaded from www.earth-policy.org/.*

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expanding economy, as now structured, are surpassing the sustainable yield of ecosystems. Easily a third of the world's cropland is losing topsoil at a rate that is undermining its long-term productivity. Fully fifty percent of the world's rangeland is overgrazed and deteriorating into desert. The world's forests have shrunk by about half since the dawn of agriculture and are still shrinking. Two thirds of oceanic fisheries are now being fished at or beyond their capacity; overfishing is now the rule, not the exception. And overpumping of underground water is common in key food-producing regions.[7]

The rangelands that supply much of the world's animal protein are also under excessive pressure. As human populations grow, so do livestock numbers. With 180 million people worldwide now trying to make a living raising 3.3 billion cattle, sheep, and goats, grasslands are simply collapsing under the demand. As a result of overstocking, grasslands are now deteriorating in much of Africa, the Middle East, Central Asia, the northern part of the Indian subcontinent, and much of northwestern China.

In China, the combination of overplowing and overgrazing to satisfy rapidly expanding food needs is creating a dust bowl reminiscent of the U.S. Dust Bowl of the 1930s — but much larger. In a desperate effort to maintain grain self-sufficiency, China has plowed large areas of the northwest, much of it land that is highly erodible and should never have been plowed.[11]

As the country's demand for livestock products — meat, leather, and wool — has climbed, so have the numbers of livestock, far exceeding those of the United States, a country with comparable grazing capacity. In addition to the direct damage from overplowing and overgrazing, the northern half of China is literally drying out as aquifers are depleted by overpumping.[12]

"These trends are converging to form some of the largest dust storms ever recorded."

These trends are converging to form some of the largest dust storms ever recorded. The huge dust plumes, traveling eastward, affect the cities of northeast China — blotting out the sun and reducing visibility. Eastward-moving winds also carry soil from China's northwest to the Korean Peninsula and Japan, where people regularly complain about the dust clouds that filter out the sunlight and blanket everything with dust. Unless China can reverse the overplowing and overgrazing trends that are creating the dust bowl, these trends could spur massive migration into the already crowded cities of the northeast and undermine the country's economic future.[13]

Water tables are falling under large expanses of the three leading food-producing countries — China, India, and the United States. Under the North China Plain, which accounts for twenty-five percent of China's grain harvest, the water table is falling by roughly 1.5 meters (5 feet) per year. China's Yellow River, the cradle of Chinese civilization, runs dry for part of each year, depriving farmers in its lower reaches of irrigation water.

Economic demands on forests are also excessive. Record flooding in the Yangtze River basin during the summer of 1998 drove 120 million people from their homes. Although initially referred to as a "natural disaster," the removal of eighty-five percent of the original tree cover in the basin had left little vegetative cover to hold the heavy rainfall.[18]

Deforestation also diminishes the recycling of water inland, thus reducing rainfall in the interior of continents. When rain falls on a healthy stand of dense forest, roughly one fourth runs off, returning to the sea, while three fourths evaporates, either directly or through transpiration. When land is cleared for farming or grazing or is clearcut by loggers, this ratio is reversed — three fourths of the water returns to the sea and one fourth evaporates to be carried further inland. As deforestation progresses, nature's mechanism for watering the interior of large continents such as Africa and Asia is weakening.[19]

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Learning from China

The flow of startling information from China helps us understand why our economy cannot take us where we want to go. Not only is China the world's most populous country, with nearly 1.3 billion people, but since 1980 it has been the world's fastest-growing economy — expanding more than fourfold. In effect, China is telescoping history, demonstrating what happens when large numbers of poor people rapidly become more affluent.[43]

As incomes have climbed in China, so has consumption. The Chinese have already caught up with Americans in pork consumption per person, and they are now concentrating their energies on increasing beef production. Raising per capita beef consumption in China to that of the average American would take 49 million additional tons of beef. If all this were to come from putting cattle in feedlots, American-style, it would require 343 million tons of grain a year, an amount equal to the entire U.S. grain harvest.[44]

In Japan, as population pressures on the land mounted during a comparable stage of its economic development, the Japanese turned to the sea for their animal protein. Last year, Japan consumed nearly ten million tons of seafood. If China, with ten times as many people as Japan, were to try to move down this same path, it would need 100 million tons of seafood — the entire world fish catch.[45]

In 1994, the Chinese government decided that the country would develop an automobile-centered transportation system and that the automobile industry would be one of the engines of future economic growth. Beijing invited major automobile manufacturers, such as Volkswagen, General Motors, and Toyota, to invest in China. But if Beijing's goal of an auto-centered transportation system were to materialize and the Chinese were to have one or two cars in every garage and were to consume oil at the U.S. rate, China would need over 80 million barrels of oil a day — slightly more than the 74 million barrels per day the world now produces. To provide the required roads and parking lots, it would also need to pave some 16 million hectares of land, an area equal to half the size of the 31 million hectares of land currently used to produce the country's 132-million-ton annual harvest of rice, its leading food staple.[46]

Similarly, consider paper. As China modernizes, its paper consumption is rising. If annual paper use in China of 35 kilograms per person were to climb to the U.S. level of 342 kilograms, China would need more paper than the world currently produces. There go the world's forests.[47]

We are learning that the western industrial development model is not viable for China, simply because there are not enough resources for it to work. Global land and water resources are not sufficient to satisfy the growing grain needs in China if it continues along the current economic development path. Nor will the existing fossil-fuel-based energy economy supply the needed energy, simply because world oil production is not projected to rise much above current levels in the years ahead. Apart from the availability of oil, if carbon emissions per person in China ever reach the U.S. level, this alone would roughly double global emissions, accelerating the rise in the atmospheric CO_2 level.[48]

"We are learning that the western industrial development model is not viable for China, simply because there are not enough resources for it to work."

China faces a formidable challenge in fashioning a development strategy simply because of the density of its population. Although it has almost exactly the same amount of land as the United States, most of China's 1.3 billion people live in a 1,500-kilometer strip on the eastern and southern coasts. Reaching the equivalent population density in the United States would require squeezing the entire US population into the area east of the Mississippi and

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then multiplying it by four.[49]

Interestingly, the adoption of the western economic model for China is being challenged from within. A group of prominent scientists, including many in the Chinese Academy of Sciences, wrote a white paper questioning the government's decision to develop an automobile-centered transportation system. They pointed out that China does not have enough land both to feed its people and to provide the roads, highways, and parking lots needed to accommodate the automobile. They also noted the heavy dependence on imported oil that would be required and the potential air pollution and traffic congestion that would result if they followed the U.S. path.[50]

"The sevenfold growth in global output of goods and services since 1950 dwarfs anything in history."

If the fossil-fuel-based, automobile-centered, throwaway economy will not work for China, then it will not work for India with its 1 billion people, or for the other 2 billion people in the developing world. In a world with a shared ecosystem and an increasingly integrated global economy, it will ultimately not work for the industrial economies either.

China is showing that the world cannot remain for long on the current economic path. It is underlining the urgency of restructuring the global economy, of building a new economy — an economy designed for the earth.

The Acceleration of History

Rapidly advancing technology is accelerating history, making it difficult for social institutions to manage it effectively. This is also true for unprecedented world population growth, even faster economic growth, and the increasingly frequent collisions between the expanding economy and the limits of the earth's natural systems. The current rate of change has no precedent. Until recently, population growth was so slow that it aroused little concern. But since 1950 we have added more people to world population than during the preceding 4 million years since our early ancestors first stood upright. Economic expansion in earlier times was similarly slow. To illustrate, growth in the world economy during the year 2000 exceeded that during the entire nineteenth century.[52]

Throughout most of human history, the growth of population, the rise in income, and the development of new technologies were so slow as to be imperceptible during an individual life span. For example, the climb in grainland productivity from 1.1 tonnes per hectare in 1950 to 2.8 tonnes per hectare in 2000 exceeds that during the 11,000 years from the beginning of agriculture until 1950.[53]

The world economy is growing even faster. The sevenfold growth in global output of goods and services since 1950 dwarfs anything in history. In the earlier stages of the Industrial Revolution, economic expansion rarely exceeded 1 or 2 percent a year. Developing countries that are industrializing now are doing so much faster than their predecessors simply because they do not have to invent the technologies needed by a modern industrial society, such as power plants, automobiles, and refrigerators. As a result, the countries that were successfully industrializing in the late twentieth century did so at a record rate. Economic growth in the developing countries of East Asia, for instance, has averaged almost 7 percent annually since 1990—far higher than growth rates in industrial countries at any time in their history.[55]

The pace of history is also accelerating as soaring human demands collide with the earth's natural limits. National political leaders are spending more time dealing with the consequences of the collisions described earlier — collapsing fisheries, falling water tables, food shortages, and increasingly destructive storms — along with a steadily swelling international flow of environmental refugees and the many other effects of overshooting natural limits. As change has accelerated, the situation has evolved from one

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where individuals and societies change only rarely to one where they change continuously. They are changing not only in response to growth itself, but also to the consequences of growth.

The central question is whether the accelerating change that is an integral part of the modern landscape is beginning to exceed the capacity of our social institutions to cope with change. Change is particularly difficult for institutions dealing with international or global issues that require a concerted, cooperative effort by many countries with contrasting cultures if they are to succeed. For example, sustaining the existing oceanic fish catch may be possible only if numerous agreements are reached among countries on the limits to fishing in individual oceanic fisheries. And can governments, working together at the global level, move fast enough to stabilize climate before it disrupts economic progress?

The issue is not whether we know what needs to be done or whether we have the technologies to do it. The issue is whether our social institutions are capable of bringing about the change in the time available. As H. G. Wells wrote in *The Outline of History*, "Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe."[57]

The Option: Restructure or Decline

Whether we study the environmental undermining of earlier civilizations or look at how adoption of the western industrial model by China would affect the earth's ecosystem, it is evident that the existing industrial economic model cannot sustain economic progress. We spend a lot of time worrying about our economic deficits, but it is the ecological deficits that threaten our long-term economic future. Economic deficits are what we borrow from each other; ecological deficits are what we take from future generations.[58] Herman Daly, the intellectual pioneer of the fast-growing field of ecological economics, notes that the world "has passed from an era in which manmade capital represented the limiting factor in economic development (an 'empty' world) to an era in which increasingly scarce natural capital has taken its place (a 'full' world)."

When our numbers were small relative to the size of the planet, it was humanmade capital that was scarce. Natural capital was abundant. Now that has changed. As the human enterprise continues to expand, the products and services provided by the earth's ecosystem are increasingly scarce, and natural capital is fast becoming the limiting factor while humanmade capital is increasingly abundant.[59]

Transforming our environmentally destructive economy into one that can sustain progress depends on a Copernican shift in our economic mindset. A redesigned economy can be integrated into the ecosystem in a way that will stabilize the relationship between the two, enabling economic progress to continue. Unfortunately, present-day economics does not provide the conceptual framework needed to build such an economy. It will have to be designed with an understanding of basic ecological concepts such as sustainable yield, carrying capacity, nutrient cycles, the hydrological cycle, and the climate system. Designers must also know that natural systems provide not only goods, but also services — services that are often more valuable than the goods.

We know the kind of restructuring that is needed. In simplest terms, our fossil-fuel-based, automobile-centered, throwaway economy is not a viable model for the world. The alternative is a solar/hydrogen energy economy, an urban transport system that is centered on advanced-design public rail systems and that relies more on the bicycle and less on the automobile, and a comprehensive reuse/recycle economy. And we need to stabilize population as soon as possible.

How do we achieve this economic transformation when all economic decision makers — whether political leaders, corporate planners, investment bankers, or individual consumers — are guided by market signals, not the principles of ecological sustainability? How do we integrate ecological awareness into economic decision making? Is it possible for all of us who are making economic decisions to "think like ecologists," to understand the ecological consequences of our decisions?

Consilience!

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The answer is probably not. It simply may not be possible.

But there may be another approach, a simpler way of achieving our goal. Everyone making economic decisions relies on market signals for guidance. The problem is that the market often fails to tell the ecological truth. It regularly underprices products and services by failing to incorporate the environmental costs of providing them.

Compare, for example, the cost of wind-generated electricity with that from a coal-fired power plant. The cost of the wind-generated electricity reflects the costs of manufacturing the turbine, installing it, maintaining it, and delivering the electricity to consumers.

The cost of the coal-fired electricity includes building the power plant, mining the coal, transporting it to the power plant, and distributing the electricity to consumers. What it does not include is the cost of climate disruption caused by carbon emissions from coal burning — whether it be more destructive storms, melting ice caps, rising sea level, or record heat waves. Nor does it include the damage to freshwater lakes and forests from acid rain, or the health care costs of treating respiratory illnesses caused by air pollution. Thus the market price of coal-fired electricity greatly understates its cost to society.

ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATIONS
ADMIN-STRATION
AS PART OF THE AFGHAN WAR EFFORT, CITIZENS HAVE BEEN ASKED TO BE ALERT FOR SUSPICIOUS ACTIVITY...

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One way to remedy this situation would be to have environmental scientists and economists work together to calculate the cost of climate disruption, acid rain, and air pollution. This figure could then be incorporated as a tax on coal-fired electricity that, when added to the current price, would give the full cost of coal use. This procedure, followed across the board, would mean that all economic decision makers — governments and individual consumers — would have the information needed to make more intelligent, ecologically responsible decisions.

We can build an eco-economy with existing technologies. It is economically feasible if we can get the market to tell us the full cost of the products and services that we buy.

The question is not how much will it cost to make this transformation but how much it will cost if we fail to do it. ystein Dahle, retired Vice President of Esso for Norway and the North Sea, observes, "Socialism collapsed because it did not allow prices to tell the economic truth. Capitalism may collapse because it does not allow prices to tell the ecological truth."[60]

Building an eco-economy is exciting and satisfying. It means we can live in a world where energy comes from wind turbines instead of coal mines, where recycling industries replace mining industries, and where cities are designed for people, not for cars. And perhaps most important of all, we will have the satisfaction of building an economy that will support, not undermine, future generations. ■

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Economism vs Earth

Book Review by John Attarian

For decades Worldwatch Institute's founder Lester Brown has monitored the state of the Earth and warned about overpopulation, environmental damage, and their consequences. He eventually saw that the battle to save the planet was failing, and that we need a vision of an environmentally sustainable economy, or "eco-economy." Accordingly, *Eco-Economy* seeks to show that converting today's economy into an eco-economy is necessary "if we want economic progress to continue"' to describe an eco-economy, and to present a strategy for the conversion.

Brown argues with appealing humility that, no one, including himself, is qualified to write such a book, and *Eco-Economy* is "a work in progress," to be refined as information improves. For a first effort, *Eco-Economy* impresses and often convinces.

Eco-Economy: Building an Economy for the Earth
by Lester R. Brown
New York, London: W. W. Norton
333 pages, $28.00 hardcover;
$15.95 paperback; free download from www.earth-policy.org

Brown opens with a persuasive and valuable survey of how the economy is suicidally damaging the earth. We must reverse the damage before it causes "long-term economic decline," as it did for civilizations such as Sumeria. Clearly, Brown is no misanthropic "deep ecologist." His ultimate value is *human* welfare.

China shows that hyper consumption grounded in guzzling finite resources is unsustainable. Bringing China's 1.3 billion people up to developed countries' living standards would consume more resources than now exist. Raising China's per capita consumption of grain-fed beef to American levels would require the entire American grain harvest. The entire world fish catch would be needed to get Chinese seafood consumption to Japanese levels. Bringing Chinese paper consumption to America would devour the world's forests. Brown draws the obvious moral: the planet's resources don't suffice to apply the Western industrial development model worldwide. Moreover, this model "cannot sustain economic progress. In our shortsighted efforts to sustain the global economy, as currently structured, we are depleting the earth's natural capital." "Ecological deficits" menace our economy's long-term future.

The earth is showing numerous "signs of stress" from excessive human use. Major rivers such as the Colorado and Yellow no longer reach the seas. Brown presents persuasive evidence of global warming in the ice melt which is occurring in Greenland, the polar ice caps, and on mountain ranges; the quadrupling of carbon emissions from fossil fuels since 1950; the 32 percent increase in the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere from 1760-2000; and increases in the sea level and Earth's surface temperature. Over-pumping is depleting aquifers in India, China and the United States. Over-fishing has ruined fisheries worldwide, including the 500-year-old cod fishery off Newfoundland; as of the early 1990s, all 17 major fisheries were being fished at or beyond sustainable levels and nine were declining. Northern China is experiencing massive soil degradation, as is Africa.

All this debunks Julian Simon, though Brown never mentions him. On Brown's evidence, resources are *not* infinite, they are *not* becoming more abundant, the Earth *cannot* support an ever-increasing and more affluent population, and the environment is *not* improving. Brown provides abundant antidotes to Simon's poisonous pap, and this is one of *Eco-Economy's* most useful contributions.

Another is Brown's careful explanation that ecosystems support economies by providing not only materials but also services, and that ecosystem degradation has economic consequences. For example, rainforests transmit the bulk of rainfall inland through

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evaporation, making it available for inland agriculture. After deforestation, most rainfall washes away, leading to soil erosion and damaging floods, and agricultural areas no longer receive water from evaporation. As more species face extinction, we risk disruption of such services as pest control and pollination. Unfortunately, prices do not reflect the value of ecosystems' services, or the costs of environmental damage. Those who extract resources do not bear these costs.

"Unfortunately, Brown seems not to grasp how serious and intractable the energy problem is."

Our choice, then, is economic restructuring or decline. Brown calls for shifting from a fossil fuel-based, automobile-centered, throwaway economy to one powered with hydrogen and solar energy, using bicycles and public rail systems, and comprehensively recycling materials. Key aspects of an eco-economy, he observes, already exist in several nations. The European nations, plus Japan, have stabilized population, and China is moving in that direction. South Korea is reforesting its hills. Denmark has banned non-refillable beverage containers, shifted urban transport toward bicycles, and banned construction of coal-burning power plants.

Brown is optimistic, too, about switching to renewable alternative energy sources. He sees much potential for increased energy efficiency through, e.g., compact fluorescent lamps, time-of-day electricity pricing, and curtailing wasteful use. Wind power output grew 15 percent annually in the 1990s, from 1,930 megawatts in 1990 to 18,449 in 2000, and worldwide sales of photovoltaic (solar) cells rose from 46 megawatts to 288.

Unfortunately, Brown seems not to grasp how serious and intractable the energy problem is. He cites the projected year of peak oil extraction only in passing and barely discusses our profound dependence on oil, and how hard breaking it will be, if it is possible at all. He hails natural gas as the transition fuel for getting to the solar/hydrogen economy, without mentioning that natural gas extraction is projected to peak in 2020.

Brown is enthusiastic about fuel cell-powered vehicles using hydrogen. But two of the main sources of hydrogen are electrolysis of water, or releasing hydrogen from – yes – fossil fuels, usually natural gas, and the latter is likely to be our major source in the near future.[1] Moreover, once water has been electrolyzed, it no longer exists. So instead of destroying fossil fuels for energy, we will destroy increasingly scarce water – surely in large quantities. Hydrogen fuel cells release water vapor as a waste; so to minimize water loss, we must trap and recycle the vapor.

If we eventually rely on electrolysis, how much water would we have to process to obtain enough hydrogen for global energy needs, and how, if water will be increasingly scarce, will we find enough water for this *in addition* to the needs of agriculture, industry, and personal consumption? I contacted some hydrogen energy/fuel cell researchers about this. Angi Sorensen, a research engineer at Schatz Energy Research Center, kindly replied that "the amount of water required for electrolysis is actually very small, but if we are to use hydrogen on a large scale, then water supply will become an issue." One liter of water yields 41.2 kilowatt-hours of hydrogen energy, she observed, but "consumption must be addressed ... The first rule in solar electric system design is reduce demand. This rule is also an important step in the shift to a hydrogen-based economy."[2] From this it would seem that building an eco-economy requires serious curtailment of energy (and other) consumption.

The solar and wind power outputs Brown cites are tiny slivers of total world electricity use. Walter Youngquist points out that 1994's global wind capacity of 3,700 megawatts only equals the output of "about two or three conventional coal-fired generating plants," meaning 2000's 18,449 megawatts replaced about 18 power plants. Moreover, Kenneth Deffeyes observes that wind and solar power entail an "energy-material dilemma." Because these sources have low energy density, capturing energy from them requires large-scale collection apparatus; obtaining 1,000 megawatts, about the output of a typical fossil fuel

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power plant, requires some five square miles of solar or wind collectors. This means huge quantities of silicon (for solar cells) or aluminum (for windmills). These are abundant, but processing them from their ores is energy-intensive.[3] It bears pondering that current efforts to pursue these alternative energy sources are feasible only because the production of their collectors uses abundant, cheap fossil fuel.

Brown is right, forsaking fossil fuels is imperative, and the growth in alternative energy is welcome — but the transition will be harder than he apparently realizes. Alternative energy has potential, but it has a long way to go. It's no magic bullet.

"Eco-Economy *is persuasive too about the coming agricultural crisis. Output of rangelands and oceanic fisheries is already beyond sustainable levels."*

On materials, Brown does better. He shows how the extraction and processing of metals (aluminum, steel, gold, etc.) is environmentally destructive and energy costly. Instead, we should adopt a "closed loop" of recycling. Progress here is already impressive; for example, the recycled content of steel in America has risen from 40 percent in 1985 to roughly 60 percent. Government can facilitate this by requiring products such as cars and appliances to be designed for easy dismantlement and recycling. Carbon and landfill taxes would penalize throwaway products. Brown also does well on cities and urban sprawl, which contribute to farmland loss, pollution, stress and obesity. Shifting to rail, mass transit, bicycles and walking will undo many of these problems.

Eco-Economy is persuasive too about the coming agricultural crisis. Output of rangelands and oceanic fisheries is already beyond sustainable levels. The annual increase in world grain yields per hectare has fallen, from 2.1 percent in 1950-1990 to 1.1 percent in 1990-2000. In developed countries, fertilizer use has leveled off, since additional fertilizer no longer increases crop yield. Again, Brown implicitly rebuts Simon, who flippantly dismissed the law of diminishing marginal returns. He argues for increasing the food supply by raising water and soil productivity and feeding crop residues to cattle, and decreasing demand by getting the affluent to eat more simply and stabilizing population.

Indeed, Brown sees stabilizing population, which has more than doubled since 1950, as crucial. Although the United Nations projects that population will increase another 50 percent by 2050, from 6.1 billion to 9.3 billion, Brown is skeptical, because AIDS is spreading catastrophically in Africa, India, and China. "The question is not whether population growth will slow, but how." Nations, which have experienced rapid population growth, are so burdened by coping with it that they cannot meet new challenges such as AIDS. If population growth in developing countries is not slowed by reducing birth rates, Brown warns, it will be slowed by rising death rates, as land and water shortages become unmanageable. Learned readers will recognize that this is the same choice William Catton posed in *Overshoot*: having overshot carrying capacity, either embrace "ecological modesty," or experience a crash (die-off). Brown calls for expanded family planning, better education of women (which reduces fertility), and use of entertainment media to promote smaller families. Our only humane choice, he says, is to shave global fertility to 1.7 children per couple.

To restructure the economy, Brown advocates "tax shifting": leaving the taxation level unchanged, but changing its composition, by taxing environmentally harmful things such as carbon and sulfur emissions, land-filling, and pollution, instead of income. The modern economy's great drawback is that prices don't "tell the ecological truth" by reflecting environmental costs. These taxes would make these hidden, ignored costs explicit. Europe has many examples of tax shifting. Denmark has shifted from taxing personal income to taxing motor fuel, coal, energy, and water sales; waste incineration; landfilling; and motor vehicle ownership. Danish car

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purchase taxes typically exceed car prices.

Brown is right that existing market prices are ecologically inaccurate, and rectifying this with taxes is appealing. However, implementation will be challenging, because the goals of raising revenue and discouraging harmful activity may conflict. A low tax on a widespread harmful activity would raise much revenue, but permit substantial environmental damage to continue. A tax high enough to stop the activity, and the damage, will, of course, raise zero revenue. It might also encourage other bad activity. Michigan sharply raised its cigarette tax to fund public schools and discourage smoking. It did not slash smoking, but it did create a nasty cigarette smuggling problem.

The eco-economy's toolkit also includes shifting subsidies from environmentally harmful things such as coal extraction, burning fossil fuels, and automobile driving, to good things such as investment in wind energy and energy efficiency. Labeling commodities (e.g. fish, wood and electricity) that are produced according to rigorous environmental standards lets consumers "vote with their wallets" for green commodities; this has already had good results. An alternative to eco-taxes is tradable permits. Whereas taxes set the price of environmentally harmful activity and let the market determine the quantity, permits set the quantity and let the market determine the price. Tradable permits look promising; according to Brown, they have enabled Australia to stabilize lobster fishing at apparently sustainable levels, and America to reduce sulfur emissions from power plants by 50 percent in 1990-1995. Moreover, they avoid the eco-tax problem of perverse incentives.

Though time is short, transition to the eco-economy could be accelerated, Brown argues, if the UN and national governments provide leadership. The media could increase awareness of our predicament, especially its global scale. An eco-economy should appeal to corporations, because corporations that have gone green, such as Interface, an industrial carpet manufacturer, have shown that firms can be both environmentally responsible and profitable. Non-governmental organizations and individuals can educate the public and resist environmentally damaging developments such as nuclear power. Conceding that it is too late for some things such as saving the Aral Sea and the glaciers in Glacier National Park, Brown affirms that we can avert ecological disasters such as "runaway climate change" – if we quickly restructure the economy, especially in energy.

Can any sane person in contact with reality doubt that Brown is right? Unfortunately, there are enormous obstacles to the eco-economy – energy, for one. Another, which Brown ignores, is the aging of developed countries' populations due to collapsing fertility and increased longevity. Unaffordable old-age entitlements will soon swamp most developed nations, including America. The government budgets of the future will be dominated by battles between exploding old-age entitlement spending and spending for everything else, including the eco-economy (public transit, subsidizing environmentally good things, etc.), and the politically powerful elderly may thwart and will certainly at least impede the latter project. Building an eco-economy is imperative, but so is entitlement reform. The first requires the second.

"Though time is short, transition to the eco-economy could be accelerated, Brown argues, if the UN and national governments provide leadership. The media could increase awareness of our predicament..."

Not only will entitlements be harder to finance amid falling fertility and now-explicit environmental costs, the aging of the West warns that humanity faces a gruesome predicament. Brown's case for stabilizing population is strong. But driving fertility below replacement has perils too. Economist and investment banker Peter Peterson observes that the earth's population over 65 is projected to grow by over one billion in the next fifty years, almost half the projected population growth; by 2050 there will be some 330

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million Chinese over 65. A 1999 Chinese government report projected that there would be over 130 million Chinese over 60 by 2000, and perhaps 360 million, or 20 percent of the population, by 2040, and warned that China's one-child policy might mean a shortage of caregivers. Chinese social workers fear that the rising tide of elderly might swamp rural medical systems.[4]

Who will look after the elderly? Reproducing below replacement, developed nations must either struggle along desperately short of taxpayers, workers, and caregivers for their rapidly growing elderly cohorts, or commit national suicide by continued mass immigration. If less developed nations drive fertility below replacement, they too will have millions of dependent elderly with inadequate supporting populations. In developed countries, elderly mortality will rise; in less developed nations, with more primitive senior care, underserved elderly will die like flies. Driving down fertility seeks to avert a die-off – but may also yield one. We may face a future in which all outcomes will be ghastly.

"Mass immigration is ruinously increasing developed nations' already huge demands on their ecosystems."

Brown also ignores immigration, yet it may be lethal to his hopes. Mass immigration is ruinously increasing developed nations' already huge demands on their ecosystems. Moreover, immigrants are seeking affluence, and are unlikely to support ecologically motivated austerity. Immigration-spawned crime and Balkanization will also make creating an eco-economy problematic. Balkanized nations will find achieving environmental consensus difficult, and crime-ridden cities are unpromising places for bicycles and mass transit. New York subways were unsafe for decades, gangs routinely rob buses in Mexico City, and Colin Ferguson's shooting spree on the Long Island commuter train shows that mass transit can deliver massed, helpless targets to sociopaths. Brown's urban transport solutions will only work in tame, low-crime societies such as Denmark and Japan, which, not coincidentally, are ethnically and racially homogeneous, with little or no immigration.

Another important head-on collision Brown overlooks is between the eco-economy and globalization. As John Gray and Herman Daly point out, globalization's competitive pressures favor countries with weaker environmental protection, because they are cheaper places to do business; ecologically responsible countries are disadvantaged. Eco-taxes and permits would, of course, worsen this problem. This supports Joseph Tainter's argument that given the international "competitive spiral, ... proposals for economic undevelopment, for living in balance on a small planet," are the economic equivalent of "unilateral disarmament." So, as Daly notes, "Globalization undercuts the ability of nations to internalize environmental and social costs into prices." Globalization also rewards shipping toxic wastes to Third World countries with lower environmental standards, thus exporting ecosystem damage. Moreover, free trade allows countries to import food and other essentials and thereby exceed their carrying capacity, exacerbating overshoot.[5] Globalization also encourages both industrial farming, accelerating environmental drawdown in food-exporting countries, and environmentally ruinous mass immigration. Clearly, building an eco-economy entails repudiating globalization in favor of local production for local markets, as Daly and Wendell Berry recommend, which means repudiating economism, and that raises our next point.

Brown's devotion to an undefined "economic progress," which presumably means democratization of affluence, raises a haunting question: will making prices cough up hidden environmental costs suffice to save us? The real trouble is not inaccurate pricing but economism, with its insatiable greed, envy and gluttony. Economism painted green is still economism. Consuming junk food, fast food, VCR, TV, microwave ovens, skating blades, fans and air conditioning produced or powered by green energy is better than consuming the same using fossil energy; but shunning them altogether is better still. (For the record, I consume none of them, except air

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conditioning in public buildings.) Given Brown's evidence of environmental degradation, true "economic progress" means substantial repudiation of affluence.

When Wayne Lutton wrote that mainstream "conservatives" view people as "economic growth blobs,"[6] he fingered a key aspect of the problem. The abstemious man always has plenty, but the gluttonous growth blob never has enough. Earth might conceivably support six billion abstemious persons; as Brown shows, it cannot possibly support six billion growth blobs. Indeed, 287 million growth blobs are already exceeding, and reducing, the carrying capacity of America alone. Economism's lunatic and self-serving effort to turn everybody into a growth blob — and our embrace of the affluent "good life" — is among the strongest forces propelling us to environmental ruin and die-off. As Garrett Hardin observed, some problems do not have technical solutions.[7] Therefore, relying on tax shifting, tradable permits, subsidies and ecolabeling is probably quixotic. Technical reforms have their uses, but the cure must have a strong spiritual element: thoughtfulness, awareness, and self-control — what Irving Babbitt called the "inner check," Richard Weaver called "piety," Malthus called "moral restraint," and Catton called "ecological modesty." One of the great lessons reality will soon teach us (the hard way, I fear) is that spiritual wisdom is also economic and ecological wisdom: abjuring economism and living lives of material frugality and spiritual richness.

None of this negates this book's great value; it is not Lester Brown's fault that our problems are so numerous that he missed a few, or that things are worse than he realizes. The point rather is that the dominant trends of our time make it devilishly difficult for us to take the steps necessary to save ourselves. One hopes future editions will address them.

Brown is well informed, his range is impressive, and his reasonable, thoughtful tone inspires openness to what he has to say. His proposals for building the eco-economy are intelligent, imaginative and promising, and his respect for economic analysis is welcome. Provocative, illuminating, timely and seminal, *Eco-Economy* is must reading for grasping our predicament and seeking a way out. ■

NOTES

1. Daniel Morgan and Fred Sissine, "Hydrogen: Technology and Policy," April 28, 1995, Congressional Research Service, Report #95-540, pp. 3-4.

2. Private e-mail by Angi Sorensen, research engineer, Schatz Energy Research Center, <serc@humboldt.edu> to author, July 23, 2002.

3. Walter Youngquist, *GeoDestinies: The Inevitable Control of Earth Resources Over Nations and Individuals* (Portland, OR: National Book Company, 1997), p. 256; Kenneth S. Deffeyes, *Hubbert's Peak: The Impending World Oil Shortage* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 183-184.

4. Peter G. Peterson, *Gray Dawn: How the Coming Age Wave Will Transform America — and the World* (New York: Random House, Times Books, 1999), p. 31; "Crisis of elderly population feared" *South China Morning Post*, March 26, 1999.

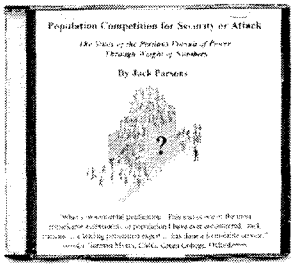
5. John Gray, *False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism* (New York: The New Press, 1999), pp. 80-81; Herman Daly, "Uneconomic Growth and Globalization in a Full World," pp. 12-13, <www.puaf.umd.edu/faculty/papers/daly>; Joseph A. Tainter, *The Collapse of Complex Societies* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.214.

6. "Letters," *National Review*, February 28, 1986, p. 8.

7. Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," *Science*, Vol. 162, no. 3859 (December 13, 1968), p. 1243.

Correction

In the summer issue of The Social Contract, an ad appeared for a new CD based on Jack Parsons' book, *Human Population Competition: A Study of the Pursuit of Power through Numbers*. The ad used the book title rather than the revised title of the CD, *Population Competition for Security or Attack: The Study of the Perilous Pursuit of Power Through Weight of Numbers*. Revisions of the original two-volume work are available on the CD which may be ordered from The Social Contract Press at 1-800-352-4843. The cost is $38.00 including shipping and handling.



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Environmental Refugees

by John Cairns, Jr.

Sea level rise, loss of arable land, inadequate water supplies, exceeding local carrying capacity for humans, and a host of other events might easily produce environmental refugees in unprecedented numbers. These events are also likely to destabilize political systems, adding even more refugees. These probable events pose some serious ethical problems that are rarely discussed in public forums. (1) Should countries that contributed to the problem (e.g., global warming) accept a proportionate number of refugees? (2) How can the more fortunate countries assist countries that are highly probable sources of refugees in a mutualistic way? (3) Is sustainable use of the planet possible for any country if environmental refugees are produced in large numbers anywhere on the planet? (4) Can countries with weapons of mass destruction blackmail countries living sustainably when environmental problems become unmanageable? (5) Should processes that limit populations of other species be allowed to keep human population size within regional carrying capacity if the countries producing the refugees refuse to adopt sustainable practices?

> The vision of a world teeming with environmental refugees is daunting, even for wealthy countries such as the United States.

It is almost certain that refugees will cause loss of individual freedom in the country of origin and probably in the countries to which they flee. In resource poor areas, survival will be the primary focus. In the "host" countries, resources will be strained, perhaps even leading to rationing and price control.

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Making a Compassionate Decision

Humans become environmental refugees when they have exceeded the carrying capacity of that portion of the planet that supported them. In some cases, the refugees are not the primary cause of the problem (e.g., sea level rise due to global warming). In other cases, they are directly responsible (e.g., exponential population increase). Should these two groups be treated differently? In the case of the population increase, individuals often do not feel responsible since large families are part of their culture. Afghanistan and the Gaza Strip both have high birth rates and poor resource bases, but this is not frequently part of the public discourse. Until this issue is faced, we will be treating symptoms rather than causes.

When countries capable of absorbing environmental refugees are at or beyond their carrying capacity, every individual on the planet becomes a potential environmental refugee with no place to go. How should human society respond to this situation, which may be closer than we think. The human population is increasing, but natural systems are decreasing.

Estimates of the rate of appearance of environmental refugees are extremely difficult to make. However, the precautionary principle requires that, when an activity raises threats of harm to human health or the environment, precautionary measures should be taken even if some cause-and-effect relationships are not fully established scientifically (Raffensperger and Tickner, 1999). A substantial increase, both for compassionate and environmental reasons, in environmental refugees is likely to cause serious harm to both human health and the environment. The threat of disease is abundantly clear,

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but the potential for physiological and psychological damage also deserves serious consideration.

The estimated 1.2 billion people living on US$1/day/capita are already at serious risk. Prudence requires extending this to the over 3 billion with only US$3/day/capita or less. Arguably, even more important is the increasingly stressed condition of Earth's natural systems: collapsing fisheries, shrinking forests, eroding soils, deteriorating rangelands, expanding deserts, rising atmospheric carbon dioxide levels, falling water tables, rising temperatures, more destructive storms, melting glaciers, rising sea levels, dying coral reefs, and biotic impoverishment/ extinction of species (e.g., Brown, 2001). Under these daunting conditions, Earth is expected to support nearly 90 million additional people each year. Since there seems to be no generally acceptable solution to this problem, the question is not whether the number of environmental refugees will increase, but where, when, and at what rate. How should we respond to this impending crisis?

One hopes that we will respond with compassion, but will it be focused on the symptoms or the causes? Cairns (1998) notes that sustainable use of the planet requires compassion for (1) humans presently alive, (2) future generations, and (3) other life forms, present and future, that constitute the planet's ecological life support system. Wildlife managers may have compassion for individual deer but will thin the population when it exceeds the carrying capacity of its environment. One may feel compassion for wild horses and burros but be unaware that they are having significant deleterious effects upon threatened and endangered plants. Multidimensional compassion requires a modest level of environmental literacy but, most important, it requires making some value judgments that we would rather avoid.

Most of the planet's political units, possibly all, are not living sustainably at present. Some countries, especially in Europe, are on the road to sustainability, but accepting large numbers of environmental refugees might delay or block achieving sustainability. This situation would adversely affect the lives of future generations but would be more emotionally acceptable to people now living. Living unsustainably would also adversely affect future generations of humans and other life forms. Attempting to exclude environmental refugees would be repugnant to many individuals and might be exceedingly difficult if their numbers were of epic proportions. Furthermore, attempting to exclude large numbers of people in an era when bioterrorism is increasingly possible might lead to extremely unfortunate consequences. As Hardin (2001) remarked, human population control places society in what novelist Joseph Heller called a "catch-22" situation: "If a proposal might work, it isn't acceptable; if it is acceptable, it won't work."

The People's Republic of China (PRC) probably has the most realistic solution – the welfare of the group has precedence over individual wishes. The PRC is attempting to keep the human population at a level compatible with what is perceived to be within the country's carrying capacity. Affluent societies view such coercion with horror. But, exceeding the country's carrying capacity will lead to disease, famine, and other equally distasteful conditions, and, although individual reproductive "rights" are severely restricted, the group's survival is not as likely to be endangered. The ethical dilemma is that many humans value individual freedom and cannot bear to stand by while others suffer, even those so geographically remote that we are unlikely to encounter them personally. Many members of human society are also concerned about the fate of other life forms (biophilia) and wish to protect the health and integrity of the interdependent web of life. Last, but far from least, we hope to leave a habitable planet for future generations of our own and those of other species. Doing this is a real challenge.

Sustainability and Carrying Capacity as Ethical Issues

Sustainable use of the planet require that human society not exceed the planet's carrying capacity for *Homo sapiens*. Despite this close relationship, the term *carrying capacity* is not included in the index of *Our Common Future* (The World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Perhaps the frequent use of the term *sustainable development* made this connection awkward since *development* is usually associated with growth and sustained growth is not feasible on a finite planet. Of course, growth in quality could theoretically continue indefinitely, but the word *growth* is usually associated with increased abundance of human artifacts (e.g., shopping malls,

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urban areas, etc.). Sustainable population size is mentioned in *Our Common Future* as well as protecting the environment. It is a paradigm shifting book, but an understanding of carrying capacity is essential to sustainability.

Cohen (1995) analyzes the difficulties in estimating Earth's carrying capacity for humans, which is affected by affluence, life style, etc. Wackernagel and Rees (1996) illustrate how carrying capacity can be increased by reducing the size of the per capita ecological footprint.

Ehrlich and Ehrlich (1970), Grant (1992), Abernethy (1994), Hardin (1993a), Douthwaite (1999), and Smail (1997) feel that we have already exceeded the planet's long-term carrying capacity. One should not get the impression from this long list of citations that they represent the majority view. This idea of exceeding the carrying capacity is definitely a minority view, but it appears to be growing steadily. The majority view, of continual growth and development, is so ubiquitous that it appears to approach a consensus. Publications strongly espousing a contrary view are Simon's part of Myers and Simon (1994), Eberstadt (1997), and Simon (1981). It is well to remember that individuals with strongly held beliefs usually reject contrary evidence and paradigm shifts occur only when the contrary evidence is overwhelming (Kuhn, 1971). Increasing numbers of environmental refugees just might cause a shift from accepting exponential population growth as the norm to a conviction that the world is overpopulated with humans.

If, as seems likely, a paradigm shift does occur toward a belief that the world is overpopulated, this will undoubtedly have a major effect upon the way environmental refugees are regarded. It is exceedingly difficult to predict how people will react to this new awareness. Some illustrative possibilities follow.

(1) Some people will decide that, if they are on the "Titanic" they might as well have a good time since the situation is out of control.

(2) Some societies will concentrate on ways to divert environmental refugees to other countries and to protect their own borders from invasion.

(3) Some societies will treat the symptoms (e.g., providing food and shelter) without getting at the cause (e.g., overpopulation and exceeding the area's carrying capacity).

(4) Some countries producing environmental refugees might try to correct the causes, but this seems unlikely. Correction could occur if aid depends on meeting certain conditions (the World Bank is a good example of this strategy for monetary problems).

(5) Some may try to take over resources of other countries, as did Germany and Japan during World War II and Iraq during the Gulf War.

(6) Some may attempt to reduce population size through "ethnic cleansing" (i.e., extermination of a subgroup).

(7) Some countries may decide it is in their enlightened self interest to help less fortunate countries with their problems. Since this strategy will require a redirection of resources from their own citizens to those of other countries, there will almost certainly be significant resistance. Even if the plan is accepted, there will undoubtedly be calls for a date beyond which help diminishes or ceases. This time line is likely to be considered unreasonable by the recipient country.

(8) The United Nations should play a major role in addressing the problem, but will need more authority and allocation of resources than it now has.

A folk proverb states "No single raindrop believes it is the cause of a flood." So, the solution must start with increased environmental literacy at the individual level. Leaders at all levels of political organization (up to the United Nations) will need to think beyond their special interests to view the problem at a systems level. Science and technology can provide critical assistance in addressing this problem, but the primary issues are of an ethical and guiding values nature. Arguably, the resolution of the environmental refugee problem should be primarily the responsibility of the world's religions, but the world's religions seem unable to work in harmony; some have serious internal problems as well. If human intelligence was not an evolutionary mistake, the solution depends on reason guided by ethics. The solution is easy to visualize, but exceedingly difficult to implement. Resources must be redistributed to reduce human suffering, but in a way that does not damage the natural environment or make the planet less hospitable for any descendants. Only

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major, rapid social evolution will make this goal a reality.

A Microcosm of a Probable Future

The country Tuvalu, a collection of nine small, low islands a considerable distance east of Australia, will be abandoned by its inhabitants in the near future. Tuvalu has endured lower level flooding, salt water intrusion of its drinking water supply, and increased coastal erosion as a result of sea level rise. Tropical cyclones (hurricanes) have also increased in the last decade. Although the population is only about 11,000 people, this number is particularly significant because the entire population must leave (for more details see Earth Policy News-Sea-Level Rise, news@earth-policy.org). The Tuvaluans have requested that New Zealand accept its entire population, although no decision has been reached yet. Wherever they go, it will doubtless be an enormous cultural shock.

"There is no place on Earth where humans cannot exceed the carrying capacity."

The president of the Maldives refers to his country as an "endangered nation" because it is also threatened by sea level rise. Most of the country's 1,196 tiny islands are barely 2 meters above sea level. Even a one meter rise in sea level would be hazardous in the event of a storm surge. The Maldives has a population of about 311,000 people, a more serious logistical problem than the 11,000 from Tuvalu.

These small island nations have existed for many generations, but future generations will be denied this opportunity. In both cases, the carrying capacity for humans will be reduced to zero, and technology will not save them unless it is employed in the global reduction of anthropogenic greenhouse gases.

No substantive discussion has occurred on the issues raised by these two illustrative situations. These two refugee problems are particularly significant because there is literally no place in their own country for the population to go. Arguably, even more significant is that the situation developed because of anthropogenic greenhouse gases whose origin is virtually entirely outside both countries. Since coastal areas are generally heavily populated, the number of people displaced globally could increase by an order of magnitude or more. The time to react through social change may be as little as 50 years. For example, Smedsrud and Furevik (2000) estimate that the Arctic Ocean could be free of ice during summer in 50 years. A free and open exchange of ideas on these critical ethical issues is essential (Brown, 2000).

Sources and Sinks

There is no place on Earth where humans cannot exceed the carrying capacity. The concept of carrying capacity assumes limits on the number of individuals that can be supported at a particular level of resource consumption or use without damaging the integrity of the ecological life support system, which would then reduce future carrying capacity. However, as Abernethy (2001) notes, the concept of carrying capacity is widely discounted, in part because it varies and is difficult to quantify. Additionally, new technologies may increase carrying capacity. Finally, technological and economic optimists reject evidence that resource limitations on a finite planet exist (e.g., Simon, 1981). However, rejecting evidence that carrying capacity is not unlimited on a finite planet does not free human society from the consequences of bad judgment as the presence of environmental refugees indicates.

Any area of the world substantially below human carrying capacity might act as a "population sink" if accepting a number of environmental refugees did not add enough to the current population size to exceed carrying capacity. The United States was a major sink for environmental refugees from Ireland during the famine that resulted from the failure of the potato crops. The Americas have accepted a sizable number of immigrants over several centuries. In terms of carrying capacity, the method of a population increase is not the focus, but rather total size and per capita demand on resources.

At the beginning of the 20th century, a number of areas might have qualified as population sinks. By the end of the 20th century, with dramatic increases in population and use of resources, arguably there were none. The United States has large numbers of legal and illegal immigrants, but its very large per capita ecological footprint (e.g. Wackernagel and Rees,

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1996) ensures that a growing population, if maintaining current per capita levels of resource consumption, would be environmentally ruinous. As a consequence, if the United States continues to accept large numbers of immigrants, it should reduce the size of its per capita ecological footprint.

In order to achieve a sustainable world, environmental and other types of refugees must be considered in a global context. This imperative requires that some estimates of the carrying capacity of each country be determined despite the difficulties in doing so. Because of the possibility of error in such estimates, it would be prudent to include a safety factor, as is included for elevators, bridges, airplanes, and the like. This methodology will doubtless be fiercely resisted by the proponents of continued growth who rarely accept responsibility for "unforseen" consequences. It is also abundantly clear that some countries have already exceeded their carrying capacity and can only survive by exporting surplus population.

Since population sinks are exceedingly scarce and may disappear entirely early in the 21st century, it is essential that all countries implement sustainable practices, including population stabilization. Since failure to do so will have adverse effects upon the entire planet, all possible help should be given to all areas of the world that need assistance. Staying within the planet's carrying capacity is a formidable, seemingly impossible task given the ethnic and religious conflicts, plus terrorism, that appear in the news daily. Were it not for the unthinkable consequences of doing nothing, this would appear to be unacceptably visionary and utopian. However, for those aware of the ecological collapse of other civilizations and the fate of other species that exceeded their carrying capacity, it is clear that nature has a solution to every problem – but not always one benefitting human society. On the ecological stage of the evolutionary theater, those "actors" (i.e., species) who blow their lines do not remain on stage very long.

What If?

In the last half century, many environmental catastrophes progressed from possibilities to probabilities. Arguably some, such as aquifer depletion, global warming, loss of arable land, desertification, extinction of species, deforestation, and habitat loss, are so well documented that only those in severe denial ignore the evidence. Prudence requires asking the question "What happens if these trends continue?" Clearly, loss of agricultural water because of aquifer depletion, loss of arable land including desertification, and global warming will result in a reduction in the global food supply despite the urgent need due to continuing population increase. If the glaciers and ice caps continue melting, low elevation coastal lands and even entire islands will be lost. The ethical problems fall into two categories: (1) ones in which refugees are dislocated as a consequence of cumulative effects of widespread practices (for example, production of greenhouse gases) and (2) ones in which refugees are dislocated as a consequence of regional activities.

Refugees Resulting from Cumulative Effects

Rising sea levels will clearly displace large numbers of people from low lying coastal areas and islands. Since the United States produces approximately 25% of the anthropogenic greenhouse gases, should it be responsible for 25% of the global refugees? This number would reach the millions and possibly tens of millions. Since this issue has not been discussed in the depth required, it seems unlikely that the United States, or any other country, is prepared to accept large numbers of environmental refugees. Yet, in terms of responsibility, those who created the problem should bear a proportionate share of the remedial measures. In an ethical sense, this responsibility represents part of the true cost of producing greenhouse gases not included in current economical models. From an ethical standpoint, lives of many people are being adversely affected by economic practices over which they have little or no control. Ignoring responsibility for the problems created by current economic models is not a defensible position from either an ethical point of view or a holistic economic view.

The refugees from distant countries, such as Bangladesh, could not reach the United States in large numbers without assistance. However, if the United States contributed to the global warming problem that displaced them, surely it has an ethical and moral responsibility to provide some proportionate assistance to environmental refugees. India and Burma,

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT
Index for Volume XII - Fall 2001 to Summer 2002

Numbers given refer to pages:
Pages 1-76, Vol. XII, No. 1, Fall 2001; Pages 77-156, Vol. XII, No. 2, Winter 2001-2002
Pages 157-236, Vol. XII, No. 3, Spring 2002; Pages 237-304, Vol. XII, No. 4, Summer 2002

Articles

"9/11, Watershed 2001" by Richard D. Lamm, p.117
"An India/Pakistani War" by Donald A. Collins, p.202
"At a Crossroad" by Vernon M. Briggs, Jr., p.122
"Bad News on Fertility" by Lindsey Grant, p.275
"Becoming a Naturalized American" by Gerda Bikales, p.111
"Belief As a Badge of Belonging" by Katharine Betts, p.292
"Borders and Terrorism" by Steven Camarota, p.89
"Canada: Its Troubles Continue" by Mark Wegierski, p.294
"Carrying Capacity As An Ethical Concept" by Garrett Hardin, p.48
"Coloring the News About Immigration" by William McGowan, p.176
"Ecology, Ethics, and Immigration" by Michael W. Masters, p.5
"Energy and Power" by David and Marcia Pimentel, p.248
"Enforcement of Immigration Law" by Juan Mann, p.196
"Food, Energy, and Society: Options and Solutions" by David and Marcia Pimentel, p.268
"Garrett Hardin: An Appreciation" by Georgie Anne Geyer, p.13
"Garrett Hardin: Salute to a Prophet" by Walter Youngquist, p.15
"Garrett Hardin: Thank You For Teaching Us..." by John F. Rohe, p.16
"How Did the Terrorists Get In?" by Mark Krikorian, p.74
"Identifying, Screening, and Tracking Aliens" by David Simcox, p.59
"Immigrants and Culture" by Lawrence E. Harrison, p.126
"Immigration and National Sovereignty" by Mark Krikorian, p.100
"Immigration and the 'Culture War'" by Carl Horowitz, p.141
"Land, Energy, and Water" by David and Marcia Pimentel, p.253
"Let's Have No National ID Card" by Rep. Ron Paul, p.109
"Living On a Lifeboat" by Garrett Hardin, p.36
"Making Our De Facto National ID Card Work" by David Simcox, p.128
"Mass Immigration: Its Effect On Our Culture" by Lawrence Auster, p.215
"National Maturity?" by Diana Hull, p.66
"National Security and Free Trade" by Edwin S. Rubenstein, p.190
"Osama bin Laden's Man Trouble" by Lionel Tiger, p.204
"Our Nation Comes First" by Katharine Betts, p.219
"Our Triune Brain" by Gustav A. Uhlich, p.183
"Overabundance of Rogue Males" by Don Collins, p.72
"Oversight Is Needed" by Steven Emerson, p.80
"Pests, Pesticides, and Growing Populations" by John F. Rohe, p.243
"P.M. Howard's Boat Came In..." by Denis McCormack, p.132
"Population Matters" by William B. Dickinson, p.139
"Protection, Yes. But Against Whom? For Whom?" by Garrett Hardin, p.19
"Reflections of An INS Special Agent" by Mike Cutler, p.289
"Report From the Media Standards Project" by Joe Guzzardi, p.163
"Terrorism and Immigration" by Richard D. Lamm, p.192
"Terrorism and Lapses in Enforcement" by Frank Kavanaugh, p.200
"There Is No Global Population Problem" by Garrett Hardin, p.22
"The Age of Migrations" by Lindsey Grant, p.206
"The Brain's Generation Gap" by Paul D. MacLean, p.185
"The Changing Dynamics In Congress" by Rosemary Jenks, p.118
"The Coming End of Cheap Oil" by John Attarian, p.276
"The Future of the Environment" by Philip Orme Miller, p.213
"The Green Revolution" by David and Marcia Pimentel, p.261
"The Illegals Among Us" by Robert D. Park, p.110
"The Pimentels: Holism and Science" by Lindsey Grant, p.241
"The Tragedy of the Commons" by Garrett Hardin, p.26
"The Wrong Tool" by Lindsey Grant, p.107
"Three Ways to Stop Foreign Terrorists" by James H. Walsh, p.104
"Unintended Results" by Hugh Graham, p.120
"U.S. Immigration Policy" by Sen. Robert Byrd, p.113
"Watch for Water Wars" by William B. Dickinson, p.287
"What Heretics Are For" by Garrett Hardin, p.58
"Why Do the Terrorists Hate Us?" by Lindsey Grant, p.68
"With Bias Toward All" by John Leo, p.174

Authors of Articles

Attarian, John, "The Coming End of Cheap Oil," p.276
Auster, Lawrence, "Mass Immigration: Its Effect On Our

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Culture," p.215
Betts, Katharine, "Belief As a Badge of Belonging," p.292; "Our Nation Comes First," p.219
Bikales, Gerda, "Becoming a Naturalized American," p.111
Briggs, Vernon M., Jr., "At a Crossroad," p.122
Byrd, Sen. Robert, "U.S. Immigration Policy," p.113
Camarota, Steven, "Borders and Terrorism," p.89; (with Mark Krikorian) "How Did the Terrorists Get In?," p.74
Collins, Donald A., "An India/Pakistani War," p.202; "Overabundance of Rogue Males," p.72
Cutler, Mike, "Reflections of an INS Special Agent," p.289
Dickinson, William B., "Population Matters," p.139; "Watch for Water Wars," p.287
Emerson, Steven, "Oversight Is Needed," p.80
Geyer, Georgie Anne, "Garrett Hardin: An Appreciation," p.13
Graham, Hugh, "Unintended Results," p.120
Grant, Lindsey, "Bad News On Fertility," p.275; "The Age of Migrations," p.206; "The Pimentels: Holism and Science," p.241; "The Wrong Tool," p.107; "Why Do the Terrorists Hate Us?" p.68
Guzzardi, Joe, "Report from the Media Standards Project," p.163
Hardin, Garrett, "Carrying Capacity As an Ethical Concept," p.48; "Living On a Lifeboat," p.36; "Protection, Yes. But Against Whom? For Whom?" p.19; "The Tragedy of the Commons," p.26; "There Is No Global Population Problem," p.22; "Immigrants and Culture," p.58
Harrison, Lawrence, "Immigrants and Culture," p.126
Horowitz, Carl, "Immigration and the 'Culture War'," p.141
Hull, Diana, "National Maturity?" p.66
Jenks, Rosemary, "The Changing Dynamics n Congress," p.118
Kavanaugh, Frank, "Terrorism and Lapses in Enforcement," p.200
Krikorian, Mark, "Immigration and National Sovereignty," p.100; (with Steven Camarota) "How Did the Terrorists Get In?" p.74
Lamm, Richard D., "9/11, Watershed 2001," p.117; "Terrorism and Immigration," p.192
Leo, John, "With Bias Toward All," p.174
MacLean, Paul D., "The Brain's Generation Gap," p.185
Mann, Juan, "Enforcement of Immigration Law," p.196
Masters, Michael W., "Ecology, Ethics, and Immigration," p.5
McCormack, Denis, "P.M. Howard's Boat Came In…Just In Time," p.132
McGowan, William, "Coloring the News About Immigration," p.176
Miller, Philip Orme, "The Future of the Environment," p.213
Park, Robert D., "The Illegals Among Us," p.110
Paul, Rep. Ron, "Let's Have No National ID Card," p.109
Pimentel, David and Marcia, "Energy and Power," p.248; "Food, Energy, and Society," p.268; "Land, Energy, and Water," p.253; "The Green Revolution," p.261
Rohe, John F., "Garrett Hardin: Thank You…" p.16; "Pests, Pesticides, and Growing Populations," p.243
Rubenstein, Edwin S., "National Security and Free Trade," p.190
Simcox, David, "Identifying, Screening, and Tracking Aliens," p.59; "Making Our De Facto National ID Card Work," p.128
Tiger, Lionel, "Osama bin Laden's Man Trouble," p.204
Uhlich, Gustav A., "Our Triune Brian," p.183
Walsh, James H., "Three Ways to Stop Foreign Terrorists," p.104
Wegierski, Mark, "Canada: Its Troubles Continue," p.294
Youngquist, Walter, "Garrett Hardin: Salute to a Prophet," p.15

Subjects

9/11, p.80; and access to oil, p.68; aftermath in U.S., p.117; and border control, p.66; and changes at INS, p.289; and civil liberties, p.100, p.107, p.109; impact on Congress, p.118; and immigration policy, p.74, p.104, p.110, p.192; and Israel, p.68; and national identifier, p.59; and rogue (surplus) males, p.72, p.204; and secure visas, p.200; and U.S. citizenship, p.111; was America to blame, p.141
Affirmative action programs, and civil rights, p.120
Agriculture, developments in, p.261; and petroleum supplies, p.276; and population growth, p.241
Al Qaeda, in the U.S., p.80
Aliens, and narcotics trafficking, p.289
Altruism, p.5, p.13
Americans, as distinct people, p.5
Amnesty, p.113
Anti-terrorism immigration reforms, p.196
Arab studies programs, as front groups, p.80
Asianization, in Australia, p.132
Assimilation, p.141, less important, p.176
Australia, immigration policy in, p.132; migration to, p.219; social cohesion in, p.292
Behavior, and triune brain, p.183, p.185
Bias, in the media, p.174
Bilingual education, failure of, p.176
Bin Laden, Osama, and infiltration of U.S., p.80; and surplus (rogue) males, p.204
Biomass energy, p.248, p.253
Biometric ID, p.192; for foreign visitors, p.89, p.100
Borders, control of and 9/11, p.66, p.74, p.200; security of, p.190; and terrorism, p.89
Canada, multiculturalism in, p.294;

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

multiracialism in, p.294
Carrying capacity, p.19, p.36, p.48
China, dust bowl in, p.287; population control in, p.22
Civil rights, and affirmative action, p.120
Citizenship, a privilege, p.113; degraded, p.111
Coal reserves, p.253
Collision Course by Hugh Graham, p.120
Commons, ethics of, p.36
Congress, has authority over immigration policy, p.104; responds to 9/11, p.118
Conscience as self-eliminating, p.26
Conservatives, and assimilation, p.141; silent on mass immigration, p.215
Constitution, U.S., and reaction to terrorism, p.107, p.109
Costs, of immigrants, p.176
Courts, thwart immigration laws, p.196
Crime, by immigrants, unreported by media, p.176
Culture, of immigrants, p.126; war in U.S. and immigration, p.141
Cultural diversity, p.219; avoided by media, p.176
Diversity, p.174; in Australia, p.292; of U.S. immigrants, p.215
Driver's license, as national ID, p.128
Dust bowl, in China, p.287
Ecolacy, p.19
Ecology, p.19, p.206, p.243
Economics, and ecology, p.19; and fuel supplies, p.276
Education, and immigration, p.163; importance of to some immigrants, p.126
Emerson, Steven, p.66, p.80
Employer sanctions, p.59
Energy use, p.206; in agriculture, p.243, p.248, p.253
English language, and citizenship, p.111, p.113
Environment, p.19, p.243; and Green Revolution, p.261; impact of immigration on, p.13; and population growth, p.206
Environmental movement, and population growth, p.213
EOIR (Executive Office of Immigration Review), p.196
Ethics, p.5, p.13, p.15, p.16, p.22, p.26, p.48; lifeboat, p.36
Ethnic rivalry, and population growth, p.275
Family planning, p.72, p.206; support for, p.202
Fertility, on rise in U.S., p.206, p.275; rates and immigration to U.S., p.275
Food, and energy use, p.243, p.248; and population growth, p.36, p.48, p.241, p.261, p.268
Foreign students, monitoring, p.59
Fossil fuels, being depleted, p.253
Free trade, and border security, p.190
Freedom to breed, p.26
Green Revolution, and environment, p.261; and population growth, p.261
Hamas, in U.S., p.80
Hardin, Garrett, professor of human ecology, p.5, p.13, p.15, p.16
Howard, John, Prime Minister of Australia, p.132
Hubbert, M. King, petroleum geologist, p.276
"Hubbert's Peak," benchmark of oil resources, p.276
Human behavior and the triune brain, p.183, p.185
ID, using driver's license, p.128; and terrorism, p.192
IIRIRA (Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act), p.196
Illegal aliens, hiring of, p.89
Immigrants, costs of, p.176; culture of, p.126; economic performance of, p.126; and family values, p.141; to U.S. in greater numbers, p.5, p.113
Immigration, p.5, p.22; in Australia, p.219; environmental impact of, p.13; and labor unions, p.122; media coverage of, p.163; new agency called for, p.104; and population growth, p.213; and U.S. fertility rates, p.275
Immigration laws, not enforced, p.289; thwarted by courts, p.196
Immigration policy, p.59, p.206; and 9/11, p.74, p.100, p.107, p.110, p.118; and surplus males, p.202; and terrorism, p.141, p.192
Immigration restriction, is it un-Christian, p.215
INS, after 9/11, p.289; failures of, p.289; lacks reliable tracking system, p.200; and police agencies, p.110; reform of, p.192; reorganization of, p.104, p.289; thwarted by courts, p.196
Interdisciplinary research, food and energy, p.241
Interior enforcement, lack of, p.89, p.289
Islamic groups, militant, in U.S., p.80
Jihad in America (video), p.80
Judicial activism in immigration policy, p.104
Labor, and immigration policy, p.122, p.163
Land use, p.253; and food supplies, p.268
Lawful Permanent Residents, tracking of, p.100
Lifeboat ethics, p.5, p.15, p.48
Living Within Limits by Garrett Hardin, p.15
MacLean, Paul, neuroscientist, p.183, p.185
Mass immigration, p.163; and affirmative action, p.120; future voting patterns, p.215; its effect on our culture, p.215; to Australia, p.219
Media, bias in, p.174; coverage of immigration, p.163
Multiculturalism, p.176, p.215; in Australia, p.292; in Canada, p.294
Multiracialism, in Canada, p.294
Mutual coercion, principle of, p.26
Naked Emperors, introduction to, by Garrett Hardin, p.58
National ID card, p.59, p.128; threat to freedom, p.109
NSSM 200, p.72
NumbersUSA.com, p.163
Oil supply, p.206, p.276; access to and 9/11, p.68; reserves, p.248
Organized labor, flips on immigration policy, p.122
Overpopulation, worldwide, p.139
Passports, American, used by al Qaeda, p.80

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

People-smuggling, p.219
Pesticides, p.243; and food supplies, p.268
Petroleum, era, end of, p.253; exploration for, p.276
Pimentel, David and Marcia, p.241, p.243, p.248, p.253, p.261, p.268
Police agencies, and the INS, p.110
Population growth, p.16, p.19, p.22, p.26, p.48, p.139, p.243, p.276; control of, p.22, p.26, p.36; and food supply, p.206, p.241, p.261, p.268; and energy, p.241; and Green Revolution, p.261; and immigration, p.213; and infrastructure, p.113; and resources, p.253; and surplus males, p.202; and water supply, p.287
Poverty, world, p.139
Pro-choice movement, p.16
Public schools, and immigration, p.163
Quality of life, p.15, p.19, p.26
Resources, and population growth, p.253
Restriction of immigration, is it un-Christian, p.215
Rights and responsibilities, p.26, p.36
Rogue males, p.139, p.202; and terrorism, p.72, p.204
Screening, foreign visitors, p.59, p.74, p.100, p.107, p.118, p.202
Secure national ID, p.104, p.107, p.128, p.192
Secure visas, p.200
Security, and free trade, p.190; and national identifier, p.59
Sex ratios in populations, p.202
Shipping goods, and terrorists, p.190
Silent Spring by Rachel Carson, p.243
Social cohesion, in Australia, p.292; in U.S. at risk, p.219
Solar energy, and agriculture, p.248
Sprawl, p.213
Stalking the Wild Taboo, by Garrett Hardin, p.15
Student visas, p.89, p.200
Surplus males, p.202, p.204
Tampa incident, p.132, p.219
Terrorism, p.68; and border control, p.89; and immigration policy, p.66, p.141; and rogue males, p.72, p.204; sources of, p.139
"Total Economics," p.19
Tracking, foreign visitors (visa holders), p.59, p.66, p.89, p.100, p.107, p.118, p.200
"Tragedy of the Commons, The" by Garrett Hardin, p.5, p.13, p.15, p.16, p.26
Triune brain, p.183, p.185
Unionism, and mass immigration, p.122
Unemployment, among blacks, p.120
U.S. Citizenship, p.111; degraded, p.113
Visas, from Muslim countries, p.100; more careful checking of, p.104; processing, overseas, p.89
Wages, impact of immigration on, p.176
Warfare, nature of since 9/11, p.192
Water, competition for, p.68; scarcity of, p.287
World famine, p.48
World fertility rates, p.206
World Food Bank, p.36
World petroleum supply, p.276
World population, p.202; and food supplies, p.243; growth, p.22, p.139
Young men, harnessed for terror cells, p.204

Books, Essays, and Videos Reviewed

Coloring the News: How Crusading for Diversity Has Corrupted American Journalism by William McGowan, p.173

Conquest of Aztlan (video) produced by Glenn Spencer, p.229

[The] Death of the West: How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Country and Civilization by Patrick Buchanan, p.221

Eco-Economy: Building an Economy for the Earth by Lester Brown, p.150

Fast Food Nation by Eric Schlosser, p.75

GeoDestinies: The inevitable control of Earth resources over nations and individuals by Walter Youngquist, p.147

Hubbert's Peak: The Impending World Oil Shortage by Kenneth S. Deffeyes, p.149

"[The] Jewish Stake in America's Changing Demography: Reconsidering a Misguided Immigration Policy" (essay) by Stephen Steinlight, p.231

Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of Diverse Democracy by Desmond King, p.152

[The] New Americans: How the Melting Pot Can Work Again by Michael Barone, p.152

Red Mafiya: How the Russian Mob Has Invaded America by Robert I. Friedman, p.296

[The] Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy by Christopher Lasch, p.155

Russian Mafia in America: Immigration, Culture, and Crime by Elin J. Waring, p.296

[The] Skeptical Environmentalist: Measuring the Real State of the World by Bjørn Lomborg, p.299

Warrior Politics: Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos by Robert D. Kaplan

Reviewers of Books, Essays and Videos

Attarian, John, p.221
Fallon, Joseph, p.231
Graham, Otis L., Jr., p.155
Guzzardi, Joe, p.75
Horowitz, Carl, p.296
Lutton, Wayne, p.229
Lamb, Kevin, p.152
Manetas, Anne, p.147
Rohe, John F., p.150
Straub, Craig A., p.299
Walker, Brenda, p.173
Wegierski, Mark, p.301
Youngquist, Walter, p.149

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Bangladesh's two largest neighbors, are unlikely to have the resources to host millions of refugees, especially if the sea level rise is rapid. In addition, global sea level rise will produce environmental refugees in virtually every country with coastal areas.

This situation is remarkably similar to Raspail's (1975) parable *The Camp of the Saints*, but on a global scale. Raspail asks what is to be done at all levels of human society – global consciousness, governments, societies, and especially individuals. Doing nothing at any level is almost certain to further damage the planet's ecological life support system since there would be more people on less land. Little has changed since Raspail wrote his superb fictional work except the temporal and spatial spans have markedly increased and the next such event may not be fictional. Human society is no better prepared to either live sustainably or to let starving refugees die in order to preserve the ecological life support system for future generations, other life forms, or even persons alive at present. Humans still do not agrees upon a universal ethos or set of guiding values that might prevent such a tragedy from happening. If the ecological life support system is badly damaged, civilization as we know it will collapse as well. Nevertheless, it is difficult to deny that the world is overpopulated (if billions are living on US$3/day or less), and the global population is still growing. It is also unlikely that the growing disparity in the size of the ecological footprint, either at the individual or sovereign state level, will be reduced voluntarily. Individualism is much more easily practiced than universalism, although one might attribute racism for the situation Raspail (1975) describes. However, he affirms that the confrontations that result from this situation are neither racist nor racial, but rather simply part of the permanent flow of opposing forces that shape human society. Even if we accept this hypothesis, it does not help us to decide what to do if societal practices result in mass migration. By comparison with the events that could produce millions of environmental refugees, the loss of life and damage to property resulting from the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States was trivial. This comparison does not diminish the horror of September 11, but rather puts the potential horror of possible environmental catastrophes in perspective.

Even if refugees are predominately non-violent, they would be desperate. As a consequence, they might be unthinkingly merciless to those perceived as denying them access to food, shelter, and other amenities possessed by the inhabitants of the country to which they have migrated. They are seeking access to the "promised land" and, since their chances of dying are already great, will not let anything get in their way. Nature has a brutal way of dealing with populations of any species that exceeds the carrying capacity of its habitat.

Predictably in *The Camp of the Saints*, political and religious leadership and the news media each view the mass migration narrowly in the light of their own restricted paradigms. This fictional account fits the present world situation even better than when it was written. Apocalyptic visions are particularly hard on liberals and even nations choosing to ignore the future. Optimism is a splendid concept until it requires ignoring the most basic laws of nature. The exuberant optimism of Simon (1981), asserting that technology and human ingenuity can solve all resource problems may have delayed serious attention to the problem. Hardin's (1993a,b) superb books provide an excellent discussion of human society's curious reluctance to question conventional wisdom.

Environmental refugees already exist (some even in boats), but, whatever happens, the basic question will remain – will nature address the consequences of natural capital depletion and exceeding Earth's carrying capacity or will human society attempt to do so? It is very difficult to determine the best compassionate view. One's instinct is to feed the starving billions, which may then continue exponential growth and create more starving billions. An alternative compassionate view is to cease unsustainable practices (e.g., infinite growth on a finite planet) so that we will leave a habitable planet for our descendants. Above all, natural capital and the planet's ecological life support system must be protected. To accomplish this protection, there seems to be no alternative but to live sustainably. Balanced compassion for those presently alive and for their descendants is the easy answer, but is difficult to implement. Still, human society may have sufficient reason and wit to learn to live sustainably and the resolve and courage to avert catastrophe.

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Regional Perspective

The image of a world teeming with environmental refugees is daunting, even for wealthy countries such as the United States. If global warming raises the sea level, where should the people from Florida, Louisiana, and other states with inundated coastal areas be relocated? How will internal migration affect immigration policy? Is a class action suit against the producers of large quantities of anthropogenic greenhouse gases likely? If not, will there be an alternative form of compensation for property loss?

In China, the world's most populous country, a huge dust bowl is developing in the northwest (e.g., Yang and Li, 2000). In India, China, and the United States, water tables are falling rapidly and reducing irrigated agriculture (e.g., International Water Management Institute, 2001). In all of these and similar situations elsewhere in the world, a major debate will be whether to send food to the newly impoverished people or take the people to the food while the stressed area is ecologically rehabilitated, a process that may take decades.

Human societies have survived some horrendous periods. Europe recovered from the "black death" (bubonic plague). China has managed to persist despite devastating famines. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) recovered from staggering loss of human life, both civilian and military, during World War II. Neither the Civil War nor the Great Depression destroyed the United States. The population of tiny Easter Island endured population losses that may have been as much as two thirds of its total and probably included cannibalism.

Even if the huge loss of human life is ignored, there are persuasive reasons for living sustainably. Arguably, the most compelling reason is that earlier civilizations that collapsed for environmental reasons did so in comparative isolation from the others. Globalization has changed this possibility dramatically, especially with the advent of weapons of mass destruction. Globalization increases the risks to both human society and the planet's ecological life support system. However, life forms exist in all sorts of odd places, such as thermal vents in the ocean floor. One might reasonably conclude that some life forms will survive regardless of the fate of humans and will be able to manage quite well without humans, as some life forms did for billions of years. Presumably, diversification would then occur as it did following five great extinctions.

A human society that lives sustainably might do so entirely as a matter of enlightened self interest despite considerable benefits to the planet's ecological life support system and a diverse array of other life forms. Living sustainably might be pleasurable to quite a few humans, perhaps even enough to make sustainable use of the planet possible.

The Lessons of Pearl Harbor and September 11

The United States was both unprepared for and shocked by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. The lesson from Pearl Harbor and the September 11 terrorist attacks is that complacency can be dangerous, often fatal. The United States and some other countries are also complacent about the ability of society to assimilate culturally the present large number of immigrants and still display the cultural cohesion displayed nearly to the end of the 20th century. Cultural diversity did not fare well in the former Yugoslavia and the Middle East and may yet be an obstacle rather than a strength in Afghanistan. The pious wish that inhumanity will cease has done little to improve the human condition. It would be better to assume that conflicts will continue and to determine realistically how they can be resolved intelligently, perhaps even with wisdom and civility.

If, as is becoming increasingly probable, there will be teeming millions of environmental refugees, it will mean that we were terribly wrong about the carrying capacity of the world for our species. Disease, starvation and resource wars will doubtless occur simultaneously but the root cause will be a social disequilibrium resulting from overpopulation and bad long-term management of natural capital. Persuasive evidence has been available that the carrying capacity has been exceeded for the last half of the 20th century, and the evidence is unmistakable in the 21st century. World War II and the Gulf War were resource wars. Hitler wanted "living room" for the German people and resource poor Japan needed almost every kind of resource . The Gulf War was unmistakably an oil war. The ideal of proportionately sharing resources is

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unlikely unless there is a limitation on the "right" to breed. China has imposed such limitations to both avoid exceeding carrying capacity and to lessen the disparity within the country between the "haves" and the "have nots." Menzel's (1994) stunning family portraits show both the vast difference in material possessions and our common humanity. This illustrates how illusory the process of moving from poverty to wealth has become. Unless there are effective restraints on individual freedom to breed, average per capita resources on a finite planet will be reduced resulting in either resource wars or forcible redistributing of resources. Individual freedom, as defined at present, will necessarily be restricted unless human society is prepared to let the impoverished suffer and die. In an age with abundant terrorists with access to weapons of mass destruction, this does not appear to be a viable alternative even if there were no ethical and moral objections to it.

Economic Discount Rates

The fatal flaw for humans may well be our view of economic discount rates – that is the damage is far off, but the pleasures or other perceived benefits are now. In the United States (and doubtless elsewhere) diets to reduce weight mostly don't work. So how does one make living sustainably and reducing the likelihood of producing huge numbers of environmental refugees possible? Alternatively, one might increase the short-term penalties for living unsustainably. But that would be regarded as an unacceptable invasion of the "rights" of nations, organizations, and individuals. Of course, human society is beginning to live more sustainably (e.g. Brown, 2001) but at a rate unlikely to prevent the appearance of large numbers of environmental refugees. One hopes, that if this does occur, the damage will not be too severe to permit a mid-course increased rate of implementing sustainable practices at a global level. The third alternative is to let nature take its course, probably with very large numbers of environmental refugees and greatly intensified resource wars as resources become increasingly depleted. The outcome in an era of increased terrorism and ubiquitous presence of weapons of mass destruction is not pleasant to contemplate. However, if present trends continue, this outcome is more than a possibility; it is, regrettably, an increasingly likely outcome. Afghanistan may well be a microcosm of this global scenario.

Perceived Economic Opportunity

Abernethy (1979, 1993) hypothesizes that a sense of expanding economic opportunity encourages people to raise their family size targets; falling expectations and the perception of heightened competition for limited resources results in reproductive caution. Abernethy (in review) calls this the *economic opportunity hypothesis*. If this hypothesis is correct, the likely outcome is an increased reproductive rate for environmental refugees since their perceived economic opportunities should be much greater in the host country than in the country from which they fled. Of course, the economic opportunity hypothesis should be self-correcting over a long time span because reproductive caution is triggered by the tougher economic, social, and environmental conditions usually associated with rapid population growth. Undoubtedly, the outcome will vary according to the rapidity with which the refugees share perceived economic opportunities of local residents, which, in turn, will be influenced by many other factors. However, if a sense of expanding opportunity encourages the refugees to raise their family size targets, the effects of the first perception will last at least one generation.

Conclusions

Environmental refugees already exist. The only uncertainty deals with future numbers and the rate at which they will be produced. Living sustainably would reduce both actual numbers and the rate at which they are produced. Already established trends increase the probability that there will be a significant number of environmental refugees in the next few decades. Perhaps these numbers might provide an early warning of future realities that could cause a pronounced shift toward sustainable practices. At the very least, the consequences of not living sustainably should become more apparent to the general public and heads of state.

Two primary scenarios emerge: (1) human society learns to live sustainably within Earth's carrying capacity for the human species or (2) human society does not learn to live sustainably, and nature (i.e., disease, starvation, etc.) reduces population size to a sustainable level, which might well be substantially

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below current population size if the ecological life support system is damaged. Environmental refugees are particularly important because the circumstances that produced them are almost certain to have reduced the area's carrying capacity.

The number of environmental refugees could be substantially reduced by acceptance of a few basic assumptions:

1. Infinite growth on a finite planet is not possible.

2. Humans are dependent upon the planet's ecological life support system, which they cannot continue to damage without suffering severe consequences.

3. Achieving sustainable use of the planet will not be possible if human population or per capita consumption of resources continues to increase.

4. Just because carrying capacity is difficult to estimate does not mean that it does not exist.

5. Although living sustainably will require many difficult adjustments, nature's solutions to exceeding carrying capacity (e.g., famine and disease) are even less acceptable than the conditions necessary for achieving sustainability.

Arguably, the major obstacles to avoiding the appearance of large numbers of environmental refugees are: (1) the shocking low level of environmental and scientific literacy of most individuals, particularly among decision makers, (2) the ecstatic pronouncements that things are getting better and better despite enormous damage to the environment and the billions of humans living on a few U.S. dollars per day, (3) the robust evidence that many unsustainable practices that cause severe environmental damage are subsidized, (4) a discounting system that favors short-term results to the detriment of long term benefits, and (5) human society has chosen to give a higher priority to material capital than to social capital.

Sustainable use of the planet would not only reduce the number of environmental refugees but, if practiced with compassion, would provide a fair and equitable use of ecological resources without damaging them. Such practices would improve the quality of life for those now alive and would leave a more habitable planet for future generations. Sustainable use would emphasize the care and nurture of the planet's ecological life support system upon which the future of humankind depends. Sustainable use of the planet provides exciting new opportunities for all components of human society. Moreover, it would benefit other life forms and ideally would diminish or eliminate worldwide species extinction rates and biotic impoverishment.

All great social change begins with a vision, which often seems utopian and unattainable. Depletion of resources and environmental damage may already be too extensive to permit a transition to sustainability without producing a huge number of environmental refugees.

Environmental refugees are the direct result of the failure or disequilibrium of the ecological life support system. Ecosystem damage is increasingly of anthropogenic origin, which means that human society has the opportunity to reduce the damage, and thus, the number of environmental refugees. If the ecological carrying capacity has been reduced, humans are increasingly controlled by the same factors that reduce population size of other species. Technology may soften the blow but is unlikely to eliminate it. Since individual freedom is an important issue on much of the planet, steps taken to reduce the number of environmental refugees should be given serious and immediate attention. All countries should demand that carrying capacity is not reduced either by ecological damage or by increased human population size and per capita resource consumption. War and preparation for war diverts resources from civilian consumption, and war usually results in considerable ecosystem damage. Ecological restoration can repair some of the damage but is difficult to implement when there is a war or a serious threat of war.

Since 90% of the human population growth is in third world countries and since exponential growth almost always outstrips the ability of the social system to keep up, this situation requires immediate attention. An obvious beginning is to provide free methods of family planning for those who wish to employ them. Clearly, freedom of choice is highly desirable unless it leads to populations that exceed the country's carrying capacity. China has undertaken exemplary but not perfect actions to stay within carrying capacity. Some of the measures seem extreme to many people in countries with more per capita resources, but no

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viable alternative has been offered. Doing nothing could result in millions of deaths, loss of political stability, and dramatic reduction of quality of life.

For a few decades early in the 21st century, countries with declining populations might offer temporary relief by accepting large numbers of immigrants. However, if the immigrants increase their numbers exponentially and the country of origin continues to do so as well, the "benefits" will be strictly short-term.

The worst case scenario is for the country exporting environmental refugees to continue to do so after the recipient country exceeds its carrying capacity. This could happen if the sea level rise put the receiving country over its carrying capacity while the same sea level rise increased the number of environmental refugees from the country exporting them. A loss of arable land due to salinization or exhaustion of ground water aquifers could produce a similar result. The worst case scenario could easily destabilize a region further and increase the rate and number of environmental refugees, thus exacerbating the problem and requiring more resources to cope effectively with it. Disease, famine, and war are likely outcomes of the worst case scenario. The best way to avoid this situation is for all countries to get within their carrying capacity expeditiously. Given the vast religious, cultural, and ecological diversity in the world, this task will not be menial. Terrorism and ethnic conflict worsen the situation still further. Finally, carrying capacity is difficult to calculate, and the prerequisites will only be known with confidence when sustainability has been achieved.

Cultural and social changes of this magnitude will probably not be possible until some catastrophic event demonstrates the concept of carrying capacity so that even the most environmentally illiterate persons can understand it. One hopes intelligence and reason will prevent such a situation, but we have to remember that *Homo sapiens* evolved as a small group species and has not yet become proficient in addressing huge group (regional, continental, or global) problems.

Former U.S. President Carter (2002) states the basic problem succinctly. He feels that the most important challenge is to share wealth, opportunity, and responsibilities between the rich and the poor because, if the chasm between rich and poor grows wider, the world will be neither safe nor secure. Carter then noted that nearly a billion people are illiterate and more than half the world's people have little or no health care and inadequate funds to obtain food, shelter, and clothing. With over half of the world's people already living precariously, it would not take much to create a massive environmental refugee problem. Over half the refugees from many areas might well be 15 years of age or younger. Integrating these refugees into the indigenous population would be a daunting task for even the wealthiest country, and, arguably, an impossible task for an impoverished country. As Dickinson (1999a) remarked, anyone traveling the world today encounters a sea of young men and women. In the poorer nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East, fundamentalist revolutions and unrest find their acolytes among jobless young males. Dickinson (1999b) maintains that nature is the final arbiter. Denial, ignorance, self interest, and the like will not persuade nature to alter natural law or grant exceptions or variances to it. Hardin (1999) remarked that even if we were able to talk with other animals it is not likely we would hear them debating the problem of population control. Debate is unnecessary for other species since nature takes care of the problem by ensuring that a successful species does not become too successful. Nature's solution to the problem is not "nice," but it is the most likely outcome if we refuse to debate and resolve the problem within our own species. Hardin's message is simple – if human society does not voluntarily live within limits (i.e., carrying capacity), nature will see that it does. Denial that the problem exists is not an acceptable solution.

In many areas of the world, fertility rates are now falling, possibly because maintaining current standards of living is becoming more difficult. Still, ecological collapse, economic collapse, and a number of other factors might well dramatically increase the total number of refugees, of which environmental refugees may represent a significant portion. It is possible that all or most of the problems explored in this article may never occur. It is probable that some will. It would be prudent to at least consider how these problems will be resolved, who is responsible for doing the work, who will pay for the work, and, finally, who will take corrective action if the trends are very unfavorable. A

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sizable number of refugees would most probably destabilize the environment, the host society, and its economy. Each time this occurs, the number of environmental refugees will increase and the number of countries willing and able to host them will decrease. Precautionary measures to reduce the probable number of environmental refugees would benefit global society and make whatever problems occur more manageable. ■

[*I am indebted to Hannah Cairns for transcribing the handwritten draft and to Darla Donald for valued editorial advice and assistance. Karen Cairns and Alan Heath provided useful comments and suggestions on the first draft. Peter Leigh furnished useful references on global warming. The Cairns Foundation paid for processing costs.*]

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A Border Patrol Agent's Open Letter

by John Malone

Yesterday [August 9, 2002], a federal officer lost his life on the border in AZ. I was working. I heard the radio caller announcing a "lookout" for a vehicle loaded with weapons that was going to be driven across the border. A little while later, while I was processing some aliens for "voluntary removal," I heard the Ajo Border Patrol agent talk to the National Park Service ranger about working some pedestrian activated sensor traffic several miles north of the international border. The Ajo agent is fairly new. He has been here less than two years. The park ranger became permanent at Organ Pipe National Monument about two years ago. Before that, he was "seasonal."

Sometime after that, I heard that one of the helicopter pilots from our neighboring sector in Yuma (who provide Ajo agents with more air assistance than our own sector), involved in some activity near Lukeville. I began to realize that the Border Patrol agent, the park ranger, and the pilot were all working the vehicle traffic near Lukeville and not the pedestrian traffic from the sensor activation's. It was a little hard to follow, but I didn't have a good feeling about how it was going to develop.

As I have told many of you before, the Ajo station is actually in Why, some 30 miles north of the border. Lukeville is the port of entry (POE) at the terminus of (AZ) State Route 85 on the border with Mexico. In this area, there is a road that parallels the border "fence" both east and west of the POE. It is one of the very few dirt "roads" in the area. The objective of the alien and dope smugglers is to get to the highway. Once there, the next step is to blend in with traffic and avoid the "temporary" checkpoint set up five or so miles south of the station in Why. As some of you have seen, the area is sparsely vegetated and consists of rocky hills and small mountains. These small mountains and the valleys and washes cause radio signal strength to be weak or non-existent in some areas.

Sorry for the digression. As best I could tell, the situation was getting distorted. The pilot was trying to direct the agents to the vehicle and occupants (at some point it must have stopped). He identified at least two bad guys and that at least one of them had a "long arm" (rifle). There were Mexican officials south of the illegal vehicle. I know this because the pilot used them as a reference point to guide the agents. The pilot's radio transmissions were very distorted with static and helicopter whine so it was difficult to understand what he as saying some times. I don't remember if I heard any of the agents on the ground use the radio. I do remember that our sector dispatch was calling out sensor activations (usually normal radio traffic) and there was some other non-related radio traffic on the same frequency. At one point, an agent not involved in the incident asked for all radio traffic to cease except for those involved in the incident. This started a dialogue between that agent and the dispatch that lasted a minute or two.

At some point (around 12:30 p.m.), I loaded my illegal aliens for their return trip south and was starting to leave the station when I heard the pilot say, "officer down." I made a conscious decision to continue in the vehicle I was in. I figured it would take too long to unload my aliens, lock them in a cell, try and find another "law enforcement" vehicle, and start south. I drove way faster than I should have in the vehicle (an unmarked '97 Ford Van with almost 200,000 miles on it) and with my passengers. I arrived at the POE about 20 minutes later

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and discharged my passengers and tried to assist. On the way down, I was passed by at least five other BP units running code (lights and siren). About five or six miles north of the POE, I passed the Border Patrol agent driving the shot park ranger north to rendezvous with an ambulance. By then, five or six law enforcement vehicles were coming off the border road.

I turned around to look for some way to help. When I arrived at the back of the POE, I saw the shot park ranger's fellow ranger (and several other officers I didn't know) performing lifesaving measures on the wounded bad guy. I saw that I was not needed there and drove north to assist with traffic control near the air evacuation site. The first person I saw when I arrived where the ambulance was stopped (12 miles north) was the Ajo Border Patrol agent who was with the park ranger the whole time. He was positioned with a Customs special agent where he could direct traffic on the two-lane road. The look on his face was pure emotional anguish. I parked my van and set out to do what I could.

I could see in the ambulance that at least two paramedics (EMTs?) were working on the ranger. There was also someone else inside. There were at least two more BP Agents a few yards north of the ambulance. I talked to the BP agent who had been with the park ranger. He was distraught. He wanted reassurance that he had done all that he could. I listened to him and reassured him that he did. After spending some time with him, I walked toward the ambulance. I shouted through the open ambulance doors at the park ranger and told him to "hang on." I didn't want to be a strap hanger; I just wanted to offer some encouragement. I went back to the BP agent and tried to help.

I don't remember what time I arrived at the scene of the ambulance. I know that we radioed to have both north and southbound traffic stopped. I know that one agent called our dispatch on several occasions to ask about the ETA of the air evac. More than once, he asked to confirm that there was more than one helicopter en route and that they were going to two different locations. At least one of the calls was inquiring about the new ETA after the previous one had passed. At some point I noticed that one of the people in the ambulance was another park ranger that I knew; his name is Bo. Near the end, he exited the ambulance and walked away from it and in my general direction. I walked to him, hugged him, and tried to say something encouraging. He

U.S. park ranger shot to death along border

A park ranger was shot and killed Friday at the Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument as he pursued a Mexican national on the run from Mexico.

The Mexican national also was shot and killed, but it was unclear who shot him. The identity of the park ranger was withheld, pending notification of relatives.

Officials said the pursuit began east of Lukeville, a port of entry about 40 miles south of Ajo.

Mexican officials contacted U.S. Customs on Friday to report that two men had fled over the border into the park, said David Hutson, chief of interpretation and visitor services at Organ Pipe. Officials did not know why the men fled Mexico.

The ranger, a law-enforcement officer at the park, and three U.S. Border Patrol agents responded as a Border Patrol helicopter searched for the men, Hutson said.

The helicopter spotted their vehicle about a half-mile from the border, officials said, and agents arrested one of the men without incident.

Agents in the helicopter spotted the second man a short time later and directed the park ranger to him, Hutson said. The man opened fire on the ranger when he approached, striking him below his body armor at least once. He died en route to a hospital, Hutson said.

The ranger was one of fewer than a dozen workers at Organ Pipe. The tight-knit crew mourned the loss of one of their own late Friday.

"With a small overall staff, we're all pretty close here, so you can imagine what it's like," Hutson said.

Organ Pipe was labeled the most dangerous in the national park system in a 2001 survey by the Fraternal Order of Police chapter for park rangers.

— *Tucson Citizen*, by Adam Borowitz, August 10, 2002

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commented that he thought it was too late. A little while later, the helicopter finally landed. It flew up from the south, the direction of the POE.

Bo and I walked over to the ambulance so that we would be ready to help load up the wounded ranger. We were there when it was decided that the helicopter wasn't going to take him. We were there when the doctor on the other end of the ambulance frequency called the time of death (2:40 p.m.). I watched as Lonnie (the EMS director and OIC at the scene) and Bo cried. It seemed like it was just the three of us. They both talked to and stroked the dead ranger. I put my hand on Bo's back and held it there until he was through with his initial moment of grief. I watched them as they unhooked all of the IVs and monitors and removed the pressure trousers. I saw them cover him with a blanket.

Yesterday, I saw my first dead person, and it was someone I knew and someone I worked with. I didn't stay there much longer. I took the BP Agent who was with the shot ranger back down to the POE.

When we arrived, we saw that the bad guy was dead. The dead ranger's buddy, who was trying to save the bad guy's life, was sitting with quite a few law enforcement officers. As I looked around, I saw Customs and Immigration inspectors (who work at the POE), Customs special agents, Border Patrol agents, county deputies, an Air Force K-9 handler temporarily detailed to the POE, and a couple of AZ DOT officers who also work at the POE. It didn't surprise me. While there may be some chest thumping and service rivalry, when one law enforcement officer needs help out here, there is no hesitation. We know that sometimes someone from another agency may be our only backup because our agency backup may be 30 miles away.

* * *

I wrote this email for several reasons. I know it is long. I could probably spend an hour or so editing it; but I won't. I wrote from my perspective; not to talk about me or my actions but to use what I saw to describe the people and events. I wrote it to tell you what happened as I know it. I wrote it to tell you how one officer's death affected me. I wrote it to help me grieve. And, I wrote it to point out a few things that are wrong with this job and the approach that our management and government officials are taking with the border issues. A National Park Service ranger died assisting a Border Patrol agent with his job. We are undermanned, our technology (communications, vehicles, weapons, uniforms, etc.) is outdated and ineffective, our national border policies are too political, the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals is out of touch with reality, the court dockets are so full that we can't prosecute those that need to be, and the smugglers are getting more aggressive. I have yet to see the results of the other shooting incident investigations. Our management never officially (through e-mail) notified us of these events. How are we, the agents, supposed to learn from these situations? It's almost as if they didn't occur.

In the five years I have been at this station, I don't recall a single incident where a Border Patrol agent was shot at until a couple of months ago. That incident involved the Mexican military shooting at the vehicle of a Border Patrol agent who was doing his job on our side of the border. Since then, BP agents were shot at twice in one week in two different incidents. Up until yesterday, those shootings took place on the Tohono O'dham Indian reservation, in some of our most remote areas. Yesterday was the first incident I recall occurring near Lukeville. I may have forgotten one or two incidents because I am getting "sometimer's disease." The point I am making is that the trend of shooting incidents in our area has increased dramatically.

I did not write this letter to be a chain mail. However, I hope that you will pass it on as you see fit. There are roughly 9,000 Border Patrol agents trying to protect our borders from the illegal entry of aliens, terrorists, and drugs. We have a very small voice in Congress and most people have no clue what we do, or under what conditions.

Take a moment to pray or offer your thoughts to the fallen ranger. While you're at it, we would appreciate it if you said one for the rest of us.

Thanks,

JOHN MALONE

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Reconquista?

It won't do Hispanic youths any good

by Hector Alaya

There is a movement afoot to reclaim our state [Arizona] and most of the southwest United States and return them to their rightful owners. Unfortunately, the rightful owners are no longer around and so Chicano movements of the Southwest, usually in the guise of hypernationalist Latino organizations around high schools and colleges, and sundry other fringe Latino groups, will be glad to oblige. In the name of justice, such people – never call them Mexican-American – claim that because the "white man" at one point misappropriated these territories, and as descendants of the original settlers, they deserve to have their land back. This is an issue that has loomed as somewhat interesting – the notion that anyone in this country who is not "Native American" should determine that it is they who require their land back.

It is ironic that people with Spanish surnames should feel they are the most vehemently abused of all, considering how they fail to concern themselves with the fact that Native Americans had their land taken away by the Spanish to begin with. It is a common occurrence to hear some one or another Chicano activist decry the fact that his ancestors, earliest of colonists, were despoiled of their land by the white man, the lands they so diligently farmed and worked. For this reason they have set out to make it known that their lands must return to them – not to the Native Americans who have a larger, more real claim to them, but to the Hispanics whose ancestors farmed these lands for hundreds of years – again never admitting that at one point the Spanish took these lands from the Indians. All memories have limits.

At any rate, this relatively new attitude, which has begun to ally itself with the mandates of all minorities as righting the wrongs of the past, most notably the idea of reparations for past injustices to descendants of former slaves, is a real one, so real that it even has a name: *La Reconquista* – The Reconquest. This notion is continually romanticized by associating the lands taken with the Aztecs (a fantastic notion that has no basis in fact) in order to increase the severity of the Anglo crime; and it will happen not with guns, but with rage, demagoguery and immigration sleight of hand, which seeks to redesign geography by redefining demographics.

Keep the Southwest Hispanic, force all school districts to teach Spanish, keep bilingual education at any cost, enjoin politically correct public officials, and demonize anyone who cannot see the benefit in such a philosophy. The fact remains that the Spanish and Anglo Americans have always wanted the American southwest, and it ultimately went to the highest bidder.

The Russians, with their intent to expand southward from Alaska in the 1700s, impelled the Spanish to strengthen their hold in the Southwest by forcing native Indians to build fortresses and towns for them. Several times native Indians fought Spanish invaders, only to be subsequently reconquered by them. But for all the years before the period 1846-1848, when President Polk orchestrated war with Mexico, Americans outnumbered the Spanish in all the Western territories. And so when the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo went into force in 1850, and America paid for these territories to help Mexico finance its war machine, these American citizens were pleased for the simple reason that the territories would finally have the stability of the American government. The Spanish were chagrined once again and beset by

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having to reconquer the land they originally took away from the Indian nations, which brings us to the present day and the current attempts by the descendants of so many generations of imperialistic Spanish, as who wasn't in those times, true.

But to what degree can we expect this *Reconquista* to be successful? Already, Chicano groups in our schools have begun to grasp our Mexican-American youth and to enrage them about what the militant leaders of such groups have determined to be inequities of the past. Such injustices are often so farfetched and unreasonable, given the tenor of the times, that they appeal only to lazy thinkers and generally displaced youths, which is what such reactionary organizations must count on. But our youths don't need slanted history as tutored by special interest America-haters to make them successful revolutionaries. Such vague notions as "injustices of the past," when thrust on unsuspecting youths, create separation, divisiveness and bitterness, because they make good excuses for those who have difficulty with the American system. As Americans we must get beyond such Balkanizing ideas, not perpetuate them or create new ones. We should concentrate on making kids successful, not by building higher walls, but by knocking down the old ones. It could be much easier to make them successful by making them Americans, by insisting on their literacy above all else.

Can the *Reconquista* win out? No, but one need not be a conspiracy theorist to understand that that philosophy is out there, and that little by little, while it is not succeeding any better than in the past, it certainly is ruining Mexican-American youths by giving them notions about evil America which are not theirs, and which they have never learned to intuit or internalize as their own. ■

EOIR Immigration Court

Implementing the permanent amnesty

by Juan Mann

Amnesty for illegal aliens is alive and well and living inside the United States Department of Justice. The amnesty provisions of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act passed by Congress and signed by President Ronald Reagan may have been the most public display of "amnesty" in the United States. But though the IRCA 1986 amnesty deadlines are long gone, it doesn't mean that amnesty is dead. In fact, amnesty never died at all.

The Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR) — a federal agency made up of the U.S. Immigration Court system and its appellate body, the Board of Immigration Appeals, functions as the centerpiece of a largely unknown, ongoing permanent amnesty for illegal aliens and criminal alien residents operating every day in the DOJ. With the complicity of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the EOIR litigation bureaucracy forms the hidden piece of the puzzle of institutionalized mass immigration in the federal government.

The Immigration and Nationality Act is so filled with exceptions, waivers and outright benefits, that the deportation of foreign nationals in the U.S. is largely voluntary. While Congress should accept responsibility for this emasculation of federal immigration law enforcement, there is plenty of blame left for the EOIR. The litigation bureaucracy of the EOIR is the facilitator of the many ongoing undeclared amnesty programs buried within the Immigration Act.

The lengthy EOIR system of hearings and appeals enables illegal aliens and criminal alien residents to remain in the United States both legally and illegally. The

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EOIR and the INS allow detained aliens facing deportation to be released back to the streets on an immigration bond or paroled out of INS custody during the EOIR hearing process, giving every non-detained illegal alien and criminal alien the option of disappearing back into the U.S. regardless of the outcome of their Immigration Court hearings.

While immigration judges, federal appellate judges, BIA members, DOJ attorneys and the private bar fight over pieces of paper (ultimately marked "removal order") illegal aliens and criminal alien residents relish the built-in delays of the EOIR system. If an Immigration Court case reaches the stage where an alien is actually physically removed from the U.S., deported aliens again flaunt the system. The current lack of physical security on the land border exposes the EOIR litigation process for the charade that it is since deported aliens can just walk right back in.

A Federal Case Out of Every Illegal Alien

After reviewing Immigration Court decisions at the Board of Immigration Appeals (EOIR's own appellate body) the EOIR system offers another appellate review in the federal circuit courts for the deportation cases of every illegal alien and every criminal alien resident in the country. With optional appeals at every stage of the process, not counting the possibility of motions to "reopen" or "reconsider," EOIR hearings and appeals are never really over until the alien wins. The EOIR simply is not designed for detaining and deporting aliens.

The EOIR bureaucracy unnecessarily formalizes simple review processes that already are entrusted to lesser-paid State Department consular officers, INS adjudications officers, INS inspectors, INS special agents, INS deportation officers and INS asylum officers all over the country and the world. The country's over 200 EOIR immigration judges (not counting the "chief immigration judges" and members of the BIA) earn from $103,840 to $136,476 per year. If "homeland security" is truly a goal for immigration policy, the entire EOIR bureaucracy should be abolished with its functions parceled out to a law enforcement agency that can do the job of deporting illegal aliens and criminal alien residents.

The bounty of relief from deportation available to illegal aliens and criminal alien residents in EOIR Immigration Court proceedings is staggering. So much so that considering the laundry list of relief available, EOIR removal proceedings are really "get to stay" proceedings. The EOIR routinely grants the benefit of lawful permanent resident (LPR) alien status to illegal aliens, ordering the INS to issue them a brand new "green card." The EOIR also permits criminal aliens who already have LPR status to remain in the United States in spite of criminal convictions that would make them deportable.

The green card is the gateway to citizenship. Someone who has maintained LPR status in the U.S. for five years becomes eligible to file an application for naturalization with the INS. Once naturalization is complete, then the threat of deportation is gone forever. The truth is that today's green card holders are tomorrow's naturalized citizens. The EOIR immigration bureaucracy creates newly-minted green card holders every day, implementing the permanent amnesty provisions of the Immigration Act. The bottom line is that as a deportation mechanism, the EOIR is designed for failure.

As institutionalized mass immigration, the EOIR is a raging success!

Cancellation of Removal for Non-Permanent Residents

This unknown rolling amnesty allows illegal aliens to receive "green cards" (lawful permanent resident status) if they have lived in the United States illegally for ten years and have a spouse, parent or child who is a U.S.citizen or an LPR. Immigration judges determine whether the alien's deportation would cause "exceptional and extremely unusual hardship" to the qualifying relative.

On April 3, 2002, the Board of Immigration Appeals set the threshold high in the case of *In re Andazola-Rivas* (Int. Dec. 3467 (BIA 2002)), but to no avail. For the EOIR, out-of-wedlock children and medical expenses shouldered by American taxpayers for indigent alien relatives are seen as an "equity" in the immigration world turned upside down. To reward the aliens' stealth in hiding successfully in the U.S. for ten years, EOIR judges give out "green cards" in the same court proceedings that were supposedly started to deport the alien in the first place.

Thanks to this perverse incentive built into the immigration law, illegal aliens can benefit from their skill in breaking the law, hiding from immigration authorities and procreating – without anyone in the major media even knowing that the EOIR exists, much less reporting on the ongoing "cancellation of removal" amnesty for illegal aliens. INA Section 240A(b)(1)

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SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION

This benefit was the first incarnation of the "non-resident cancellation of removal" rolling amnesty. If an illegal alien avoided detection in the United States for seven years, the alien didn't even need to have a "qualifying relative" as in the "cancellation of removal" green card give-away. The alien's own hardship (caused by going back home abroad) is enough to win a green card. The alien could claim that he or she alone would suffer "extreme hardship" if deported, regardless of any hardship suffered by any qualifying relatives. Again, this give-away is a reward for illegal aliens who have broken the immigration laws by living and working in the U.S. illegally. INA Section 244(a) [repealed].

SPECIAL NACARA SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION

The Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act of 1997 (NACARA) gives special benefits to prior political asylum applicants regardless of whether or not their asylum claims have any validity. This benefit allows aliens to apply under the former suspension of deportation standard (see above) if the aliens merely filed a political asylum application and have been living in the United States illegally from the following countries: Nicaragua, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, former Soviet Union, Russia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, former East Germany, former Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Croatia, Slovenia, Belarus, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Kazakstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgystan. NACARA. Sections 202, 203.

REGISTRY

This benefit is yet another stealth amnesty for aliens who didn't bother to apply for the IRCA 1986 amnesty give-away. Aliens who have been living illegally in the United States since 1972 can get a "green card" through registry. INA Section 249.

ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS UNDER SECTION 245

Under Section 245 adjustment, an alien admitted in some legal status can apply for resident alien status during the very same Immigration Court proceedings that were supposed to be deporting the alien. In order to apply, the alien must be the beneficiary of an approved immigrant visa petition with a visa number currently available. Immigration judges have the option of stalling the Immigration Court proceedings long enough for visa numbers to become current for the aliens to apply. The EOIR also has the power to "readjust" permanent resident aliens who are convicted of certain crimes, in order to turn around and give the aliens their green cards back – all done in the very same hearings that were set up to deport the alien for those crimes in the first place. INA Section 245.

ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS UNDER SECTION 245(I)

Section 245(i) is the most famous stealth amnesty program currently in the news. The EOIR administers 245(i) relief for aliens in Immigration Court hearings as yet another way for aliens facing deportation to avoid being deported. Is Section 245(i) an amnesty? – Absolutely! If an alien who is illegally in the United States without current legal status is not deported, then the alien is being given the benefit of an amnesty. Section 245(i) allows aliens who have no legal status in the United States to avoid deportation as long as they filed a visa petition (through a spouse, parent, child, brother, sister or an employer) prior to a certain date. The application date has been set three times so far since 1995 in order to give more aliens a chance to apply for the give-away, but there is no future application date as of this writing.

By definition, aliens benefiting from 245(i) are all deportable because they lack legal status; otherwise they could adjust under the regular Section 245 provision. Aliens would not need Section 245(i) if they did not have the need to waive the unlawful presence grounds of the immigration law. The 245(i) aliens could have all been deported from the United States. They all could have been on a bus or a plane heading out of the U.S. instead of being given the opportunity to file visa petitions. But Congress has been threatening to extend this benefit for a fourth time, or even permanently. The Section 245(i) aliens, by their actions, have already shown that they are not willing to abide by the immigration laws of the United States. Section 245(i) beneficiaries jumped the line ahead of the thousands of visa beneficiaries who have lawfully waited their turn outside of the U.S. until a visa number becomes available for their petitions. But instead of waiting their turn to enter, the Section 245(i) crowd that violated the law now legally benefits from their fraud. INA Section 245(i).

ASYLUM

An alien granted asylum in the United States leaves Immigration Court as a "refugee" and can apply for a resident alien card in a year. The alien must prove past

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persecution (or a well-founded fear of future persecution) under one of five statutorily protected grounds, "race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion." These classifications are under a constant assault of expansion by EOIR immigration judges, the BIA and the federal appellate courts. Any alien that says the magic words "political asylum" and tells a convincing story could win a life in the United States.

Asylum hearings by the EOIR (coupled with INS policies of releasing aliens from detention) are an open door to the opportunists of the world. International alien smuggling enables virtually anyone in the world without legal documents to bypass the system of U.S. consular refugee processing abroad. Aliens who simply appear without documents at any U.S. land border or airport on American soil can request asylum through the "credible fear" process, be released from custody, travel on to another city, and perhaps later appear for a hearing to be awarded asylum by an EOIR immigration judge. The potential for abuse of the current system is so great, that the INS "credible fear" and EOIR asylum process has the potential to become the greatest back-door amnesty program of all. INA Sections 208, 209, 235.

Withholding of Removal

Withholding of removal is a stricter flavor of asylum where the alien can remain in the United States, but cannot apply for permanent resident status. INA Section 241.

Withholding or Deferral of Removal Under Convention Against Torture

As an alternative to asylum and withholding of removal, aliens in Immigration Court could also receive withholding or deferral of removal under the provisions of Article 3 of "The United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment." Under this standard, the alien must show a "clear probability" of being tortured in the alien's native country. The EOIR reviews these cases along with any asylum or withholding claims filed by the alien. 8 C.F.R. Sections 208.16, 208.17.

Cancellation of Removal for Certain Permanent Residents

This benefit allows criminal aliens who are already lawful permanent residents to maintain their LPR status in spite of being convicted of various crimes. The alien must have been a permanent resident for five years and have legal status of some kind for seven years in order to be eligible for cancellation of removal. But criminal aliens can only get this relief to prevent deportation once. This "one free shot" characterization of cancellation of removal tempts EOIR immigration judges to grant the relief routinely as a "second chance." But career criminal aliens frequently are not put into deportation proceedings automatically after their first crime. So even though the INS may miss many chances to deport an alien, the aliens always are eligible for a "second chance" in the eyes of the EOIR system. Permanent resident cancellation helps criminal aliens convicted of drug possession, alien smuggling, abuse of a spouse, drunk driving, robbery, burglary, theft, sexual assault and a host of other crimes. Only those aliens found to have been convicted of "aggravated felonies" under Section 101(a)(43) of the Act are not eligible to apply. INA Section 240A(a).

Section 212 (c) Waiver

This benefit is the first incarnation of the permanent resident "cancellation of removal" provision. Section 212 (c) relief also allowed resident alien criminals to keep their "green cards" in spite of being deportable for various crimes. Congress attempted to scale back this form of relief to deport many drug smugglers and violent felons, but their efforts were struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court on June 25, 2001. The case of *INS v. St. Cyr* (533 U.S. 289 (2001)) gave Section 212(c) relief – namely green cards and the pathway to U.S. citizenship – back to countless criminal aliens. INA Section 212(c) [repealed].

Laundry List of Waivers

Waivers for "crimes involving moral turpitude" including theft crimes, sex crimes and possession of less than 30 grams of marijuana – INA Section 212(h).

Waivers for alien smuggling – INA Sections 212(d)(11) and 241(a)(1)(E)(iii); and an exception under INA Section 241(a)(1)(E)(ii).

Waivers for immigration fraud – INA Sections 212(i) and 241(a)(1)(H).

More waivers for document fraud, exchange visitors, health-related reasons, labor certification requirements, reentry after deportation, conditional resident status, and crimes given a state or federal pardon: INA Section 211(b); INA Section 211(c); INA Section 212(d)(4); INA Section 212(e); INA Section 212(k); INA Section 216(c)(4); INA Section 241(a)(2)(A)(v); 8 C.F.R. 212.2. ■

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Immigrants and the Earned Income Tax Credit

by Edwin S. Rubensein

The Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) is available to single or married people with children who work at least part-time. Workers who have one child and family income of less than $28,281 could get an EITC of up to $2,428 in 2001. Those with two or more children and income below $32,121 could get as much as $4,008. EITC is a "refundable" tax credit, meaning that if the worker did not pay taxes, or paid less than the amount of the credit, the IRS will send him or her a check for the balance.

Technically, EITC is available only to immigrant workers who obtain legal work status. But the law allows immigrants to claim EITC for up to *three years prior* to obtaining that status. Workers simply file a tax return for the years in which they were not legally eligible to work in the U.S.!

The most widespread abuse stems from the requirement that children live with the worker for more than six months of the year. IRS does little to verify the claim. Many immigrants claim non-existent children, or claim children who they've left behind with relatives. The IRS is just now using a database from the Federal Case Registry of Child Support Orders to identify erroneous claims. Few immigrants will be covered by that device.

Steve Camarota of the Center for Immigration Studies examined the usage by Mexican immigrants of EITC and other welfare programs in a report issued in July 2001. Despite welfare reforms aimed at reducing immigrant usage, most immigrants continue to be eligible because the changes primarily affect new arrivals. Also, in many cases state governments have chosen to provide benefits to otherwise ineligible immigrants. Therefore, changes made by Congress did not have the effect on long-term welfare use by Mexican immigrants that policymakers may have thought.

Camarota's data shows that immigrants in general, and Mexican households in particular, use every major means-tested program at higher rates than natives.

Use of Means-Tested Programs

Program	Natives	All Immigrants	Mexican Immigrants
SSI	3.9%	5.3%	4.1%
Public Housing	4.2	4.9	5.0
General Assistance (TANF)	2.1	3.2	5.5
Food Stamps	5.3	6.7	10.2
Medicaid	12.1	18.6	27.2
Unemployment Benefits	4.7	5.0	8.3
EITC eligibility	**13.1**	**25.5**	**49.2**

While use of Supplemental Security Income (SSI) by Mexican households is only slightly higher than that of natives, their use of TANF/general assistance, food stamps, and Medicaid, is dramatically higher than households headed by natives. All of these programs are very large in size. In 1999, more than $300 billion was spent on the means-tested programs.

While immigrants use welfare programs at higher rates than natives do, their use of the EITC is substantially higher than that of natives. With an annual cost of $32 billion, the EITC is the nation's

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largest means-tested cash assistance programs for workers with low incomes. Persons receiving the EITC pay no federal income tax and instead receive cash assistance from the government based on their earnings and family size.

The percentages for the EITC above almost certainly overstate its use by both immigrants and natives, because unlike the other programs listed in the table, the Census Bureau assigns use of the credit to respondents based on their income and family characteristics, not based on their response to a specific question on the survey. All persons who file a return and are eligible for EITC should receive the EITC because the IRS will process it automatically if you qualify. However, persons whose employment is not reported to the IRS (i.e. they work off the books) or who do not file an income tax return will not receive the credit. Research indicates that in most years roughly 85 percent of those eligible for the EITC do, in fact, receive it.

***"Immigrants account for 10.4 percent of the U.S. population, but receive 20.9 percent* of all EITC benefits, or an estimated $6.7 billion in 2001."**

Moreover, immigrants receive larger average benefit payments than natives. For EITC, average payment amounts in 1999 were as follows: Natives, $1,456; all immigrants, $1,693; Mexican immigrants, $1,887. This is because EITC payments, like payments for public assistance and food stamps, typically reflect the number of people in the households. Because immigrant households are larger on average (primarily because of higher fertility), the size of their average payment is also larger.

EITC and Illegal Immigrants

Not surprisingly, the use of means-tested welfare programs is more common among legal immigrants than illegals. But whether legal or illegal, immigrants make heavy use of welfare payments. Camarota's data show, for example, that 55.3 percent of legal Mexican immigrants receive EITC payments versus 39.4 percent of illegal Mexican immigrants.

Illegal immigrants from Mexico primarily receive welfare benefits on behalf of their American-born children. Camarota writes: "Use of means-tested programs by illegal immigrants from Mexico points to a fundamental problem that would almost certainly exist with any guestworker program. Even if guestworkers are made technically ineligible for means-tested programs, it seems almost certain that they would make use of them anyway by receiving benefits on behalf of their native-born children. After all, the findings ... indicate that despite an outright ban on their use, illegals from Mexico actually use such programs at higher rates than natives in many cases." ■

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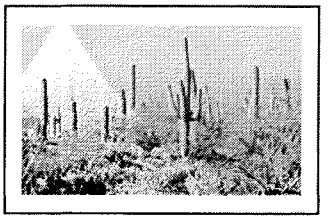

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Deadly Diversity, Dumb Program

by Michelle Malkin

In the drawer of dumb, post-Sept. 11 immigration ideas, the State Department's Diversity Visa Lottery program sits near the top of the heap. What could be more out of touch with the national security goals of the War on Terror than giving away visas randomly to thousands of people from the Middle East to fulfill a politically correct social agenda?

Nearly 55,000 lucky lottery applicants and their family members qualify for permanent residency visas (green cards) every year, which put them on the path to American citizenship ahead of millions of other foreigners patiently waiting to come to this country. The visa lottery was championed by Sen. Ted Kennedy and signed into law by President George H. W. Bush in 1990 to admit more "underrepresented" immigrant minorities into the United States. Although originally intended to give a leg up to Irish immigrants, most of the winners are now from non-Western countries, including several terrorist-sponsoring and terrorist-friendly nations.

How many lives have been sacrificed at the altar of diversity through this immigration set-aside program? We now know of at least two casualties.

One of those who hit the visa lottery jackpot was Hala Hadayet, wife of Egyptian immigrant Hesham Mohamed Hadayet -- the gunman who killed two people at Los Angeles International Airport on July 4th. Hadayet should have been deported from this country six years ago. After entering the country legally in 1992 on a six-month visa, he overstayed illegally and then filed a petition for permanent residency.

An Immigration and Naturalization Service spokesman told the Orange County Register over the weekend that the reasons for Hadayet's rejection were "unclear." The agency initiated deportation proceedings, but, as in hundreds of thousands of cases, nothing every came of it. In the meantime, Hadayet's wife put in an application for the visa lottery. She won, and so did her family. Both legal immigrants from abroad and illegal aliens currently evading the law inside our country are allowed to apply; winners can bring their spouses and children under 21.

There is no fee to enter the visa lottery. There isn't even a government form. Applicants simply mail a photo, biographical information and a signature on a plain sheet of paper and wait for the computer-generated drawing results. Losers can keep applying every year. The only eligibility rules are a clean criminal record (other than violating our borders and overstaying visas, which don't count as crimes to our cotton-headed immigration authorities), a clean bill of health (easily faked), and a high school diploma/equivalent or two years of work experience (easily faked).

The diversity visa lottery program was a bad idea before Sept. 11 and July 4. At a time when people from around the world continue to seek asylum, claim refugee status, and immigrate to America legally, it is absurd that our government still feels compelled to run a lottery to "ensure diversity" of the immigrant population. It is even more outrageous that the program is open to illegal aliens who continue to flout our laws. The visa lottery is an immigration entitlement program based on the luck of the draw and political whims — rather than on our national interest.

Michelle Malkin *is a nationally-syndicated columnist. Her most recent book is* Invasion: How America Still Welcomes Terrorists, Criminals, and Other Foreign Menaces on Our Shores. *This article , ©2002 Creators Syndicate, Inc., is reprinted by permission.*

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How many more Hesham Hayadets are lurking among us? Among those who drew winning numbers in the most recent visa lottery, whose results were announced by the State Department last month, were 1,551 individuals from Hadayet's native Egypt; 38 from terrorist hijacker-spawning Saudi Arabia; and 2,259 from Iraq, Iran, Sudan, Libya and Syria — all official state sponsors of terrorism. The next lottery drawing is planned for next fall. Blinded by deadly diversity worship, our government has no plans to bar al Qaeda strongholds from the lottery.

We continue to leave homeland defense to random chance. ■

The Curious Immigration Lottery

by Steve Sailer

One of the U.S. government's more obscure yet curious programs received some unwanted publicity on the Fourth of July when Egyptian immigrant Hesham Mohamed Hadayet killed two Jews at the Israeli El Al Airline counter of Los Angeles International Airport.

Hadayet had been scheduled for deportation in 1997, but was allowed to remain in America when his wife's application to receive a coveted "green card" for permanent residency was randomly drawn by the State Department from the millions of applicants to the annual Diversity Visa Lottery.

What is this Diversity Visa Lottery that so few Americans have heard of, yet is of such avid interest around the world that anti-government riots raged in the impoverished African country of Sierra Leone in 1997 when 5,000 lottery applications mailed by locals were found floating in the Freetown harbor?

In the latest drawing, 8.7 million foreigners filed free applications. Permanent residency visas will then be handed out to 50,000 individuals from 167 countries. (That's 174 applications per green card granted.) The lottery accounts for about 7 percent of all legal immigrants to the United States.

According to New York City immigration lawyer Richard Madison, "The purpose of the diversity lottery is to make the immigrant population of the United States more varied." Mark Krikorian of the Center for Immigration Studies, who advocates abolition of the program, said, "The lottery is premised on the belief that America needs immigrants as such — not people with relatives here, or with job offers, or fleeing persecution — just more random people."

The program allows more immigration from countries that don't send America large numbers of immigrants through the normal channels of family reunification (which accounted for 72 percent of all immigrants in 1998), employer sponsorship (12 percent, which includes the employee's spouses and children), and refugee status (8 percent).

When the 1965 immigration law opened the new era of mass immigration, a few Asian and Latin American countries quickly came to dominate the flow of immigrants. Those early arrivers, in turn, brought in their relatives who eventually brought in their relatives — what's called "chain migration." This left very little opportunity for people from countries that hadn't gotten in on the system early to qualify to immigrate.

Oddly enough, the diversity lottery originated as a way to bring more whites to the United States. White ethnic politicians in America felt that their distant relatives in Europe had been

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squeezed out by chain migration from the Third World. So, natives of the 14 largest sources of legal immigrants – such as Mexico, India and China — are banned from participating. In particular, Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., saw a diversity lottery as a way to boost the number of legal Irish immigrants.

Krikorian explained, "It was cooked up in the 1986 law to provide a way to amnesty Irish illegal aliens, since the main amnesty in that law primarily benefitted Mexicans. In fact, to this day the lottery is often referred to by congressmen and their staff as 'The Irish Program.' But as the program evolved, and as there were fewer and fewer Irish illegals, its emphasis changed, and it's now more accurately described as the Middle Eastern, East European and African program."

Only 331 visas were awarded to Irish applicants this year. Requirements for qualifying are fairly minimal. To be eligible to win permanent residency, a high school diploma is required. Failing that, the lucky winner can still get by with "two years of work experience ... in an occupation that requires at least two years of training or experience." Winners also must undergo a physical exam and a background police check.

Interestingly, this program run by the State Department increases immigration from the seven countries that the State Department has declared "state sponsors of international terrorism" — Iran (768 visas this year), Iraq (71), Syria (62), Libya (61), Cuba (529), North Korea (four) and Sudan (1,297).

It also awards permanent residency to the natives of two countries that are the prime sources of al Qaida — the network of suspected terrorists: Saudi Arabia (38) and Egypt (1,551). Other participating countries with active Islamist terrorist elements include Algeria (834), Lebanon (62) and Yemen (45).

The overwhelming majority of the winners of the lottery are not terrorists, of course. Ellie Azoulay of the American Immigration Center, a business that checks and submits lottery applications for $40, described two winners he knows personally. "One is my own mother, who won the DV1998 lottery program."

"The other," he continued, "is a friend who won the DV1999 lottery — a degreed academic professional, who came over to the USA as soon as her visa was issued. Since she has been in this country, she has been working and studying to finish her doctorate degree at a local university. She also works full time at a pharmaceutical company, and has a weekend job to pay for her schooling. They are both hard-working, honest individuals."

Despite the enormous number of applications received annually, the government makes no attempt to skim the cream off the top. The lottery truly is a lottery. Rather than try to choose those applicants whose skills would most benefit America, the government simply draws blindly.

Judith Golub, a spokeswoman for the American Immigration Lawyers Association, defended the arbitrariness of the selection process, saying, "Maybe it serves to reflect who we are as a nation. This country has always valued diversity."

Of course, it's not logically necessary for the program to be a lottery for it to maintain its current commitment to diversity. The government could simply keep the present national quotas and just fill them with the highest potential applicants out of all those applying from each particular country. While Americans sometimes seem uncomfortable choosing among immigration candidates, Canada uses a point system to try to identify those would-be immigrants who possess the "human capital" to most benefit Canada as a whole. Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Elinor Caplan explained, "Independent skilled immigrants (the largest single class of those admitted to Canada) are selected on the basis of their potential contribution to Canada's economic and social well-being."

In fact, potential immigrants to Canada can quickly determine whether they are desirable enough to qualify for an interview with a Canadian immigration officer. They need only visit the official immigration Web site at cic.gc.ca for about 15 minutes. There they can answer nine questions about themselves involving qualifications such as education, profession, age and language.

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Those scoring at least 60 out of 100 can advance to the second stage of Canada's immigrant selection process.

America's refusal to choose non-randomly among diversity visa applicants appears costly. A National Academy of Sciences study found that immigrants with below a high school education cost the country $90,000 net over their lifetimes, while those with the equivalent of a high school education cost the United States $30,000. But immigrants with a college education or more brought a net benefit to the nation of $100,000.

By this calculation, over the course of a decade, the lifetime opportunity cost of admitting 500,000 high school graduates rather than the same number of college graduates would be $65 billion. Others don't want to just reform the diversity visa lottery. Rep. Tom Tancredo, R-Colo., the head of the fast-growing Immigration Reform Caucus, has called for abolishing the diversity visa lottery.

Krikorian agreed. "The sooner the lottery is abolished the better," he argued. "There's no need for it; no constituency for it; and it's harmful. "Not only does it plant the idea of immigrating to the United States in the minds of people who had not previously considered it," Krikorian went on, "but those who succeed create brand-new immigration chains from places which didn't use to send immigrants. No one wakes up in Uruguay and says, "Today, I will move to Hoboken!" People only go to places where they already have friends or relatives. Any kind of lottery creates more networks of this kind, guaranteeing future illegal immigration from places that had no previous ties to the United States." ■

Blurred Visions of U.S. Citizenship

by Georgie Anne Geyer

As America observes Labor Day and then the anniversary of September 11, we look to both our work heritage and to questions of our future in the war against terrorism as we survey the national scene.

But an internal unraveling is occurring within the American fabric that is, I believe, the most serious issue confronting us as a nation.

To put it most simply, we are moving from a classically transformational society to a concessionary society. Instead of imposing our principles on others within America, or inspiring with them, we now grant cultural and political concessions to others.

National peace is kept not by a central system based on historical principles and adhered to by a majority of citizens, but with a balance of power by which a central monitoring government grants privileges and concessions to various demanding, diffuse special interests and ethnic forces that exist for their own purposes.

It is almost as if the central authority in American life were a carnival hawker, urging all comers to see what they can bargain for. "Step right up" is the cry.

Six years ago this fall, my last book, *Americans No More: The Death of Citizenship*, was published. In it, I argued that American citizenship was being tragically weakened, leaving large numbers of us without serious commitment to a true, historical, deep Americanism.

But even social nature abhors a vacuum, and in those six years, virtually nothing has been accomplished to raise Americans' knowledge of history or to deepen their understanding of citizenship. Thus the vacuum is being filled

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with spontaneous barter relationships between the government and just about anyone who comes here and chooses to make demands upon it. A few examples:

One of the most disturbingly exploited areas is language. Despite the fact that, for instance, bilingual education is totally discredited and has supposedly been legally abolished in many states, the government actually gives in to public and educational multilingualism at every turn.

The Bush administration, despite earlier promises to straighten out the bilingual education mess (including a promise made to this writer by President Bush himself three years ago), has not even touched Bill Clinton's Executive Order 13166. In this astonishing presidential fiat, everyone has a de facto "civil right" to have an oral interpreter and translation service, paid for by American taxpayers, for any of the 176 languages spoken somewhere in the United States.

Everywhere you look in language concerns, the idea of English as the implicit language of America is losing. Special "Hispanic services" are being created in many communities. ATM machines offer Spanish services — and soon will expand to other languages. Increasing numbers of children born in America are growing up in "linguistically isolated" households and need English instruction in school. (The figures for Montgomery and Fairfax Counties are 35 percent in special English classes that were supposedly for foreigners.)

"...more and more ethnic or religious groups and individuals demand that the laws change for them..."

Politicians' books are now published concurrently in Spanish (Tennessee Sen. Bill Frist's new book on terrorism, for instance), thus further isolating Hispanics from the bigger world.

Still another disturbing area is that of law, as more and more ethnic or religious groups and individuals demand that the laws change for them, in place of their obeying the laws of the land.

In Cook County, IL, Deputy Sheriff Crystal Clark, a Muslim, insists upon wearing a headscarf with her uniform. A national Muslim advocacy group says denial of her demand is "denial of religious accommodation." In Florida, another Muslim woman, Sultanna Freeman, insists she be allowed to have her driver's license photo taken with her face covered and only her eyes showing. Etc., etc., etc.

This country was founded on the Protestant ethic, which demanded that each man be judged only on his morality and work. Today, even the Protestant churches are adapting, changing their outreach and cultural principles to fit the new age.

The Episcopal Church in its "Atlanta Manifesto" recently stated that it has become a "church in a state of mission, that is, a missionary church" to the Hispanics and others. The leaders of seven predominantly white Protestant denominations this summer stated that America is an "unchurched culture" and that they need to reach newcomers and others in their own language and culture.

Meanwhile, other powers reach into the vacuum at the center. So far this year, the Mexican government has distributed about half a million identification cards, known as "*matriculas consulares*," to Mexicans living in the United States They are recognized as official "American" IDs now by more than 200 U.S. city police departments. America does not even insist anymore upon that most basic power of the nation-state, credentialing its own people.

All this cannot help but influence outsiders. A recent Zogby International poll showed that 58 percent of the Mexican population (in Mexico) believes the American Southwest belongs to Mexico and that Mexicans should have the right to enter it without American permission. (That time may not be that far off.)

We are about to pay a dear price for our refusal to teach and succor our principles. One can already see the consequences looming as we allow our once so beautifully transformational values to wither and die. ■

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The Canary Is Choking

It would be if we considered Europe an immigration 'coal mine'

by Brenda Walker

Recent electoral shakeups in Europe have unveiled a population increasingly aroused against a growing Muslim presence. Nations long noted for social liberalism and being an easy touch for welfare-minded foreigners — particularly Denmark and the Netherlands — have found their voice in voting for candidates and parties that take immigration concerns seriously. Many Dutch and Danes concurred with independent-minded politician Pim Fortuyn when he stated, "I say multicultural society doesn't work."

Europe has been an extreme test case for multiculturalism with two of the world's most disparate societies living side by side. The newcomer Muslims bring an ancient social structure that is authoritarian and misogynist, where knowledge is an inherited commodity[1] rather than derived through rational inquiry. Western culture, on the other hand, has built upon its Greek, Roman and Renaissance traditions to value democracy, gender equality, individual rights and rational thought.

The results are in. When Westerners live in close proximity with large numbers of Muslims, neither side seems happy with the arrangement. Europeans have voted at the polls for less immigration and Muslim immigrants have shown little interest in becoming assimilated to their new communities.

The philosophy of live and let live only works when newcomers reciprocate. When one people's generosity is returned with the extreme intolerance of rape, physical attacks, theft, general disrespect and refusal to learn the language, then the public realizes that multiculturalism is a philosophy based on falsehood. Dutch residents of Rotterdam began to view the Muslim population of their city -- estimated at up to 45 percent — with increasing discomfort. Not wishing to see their city turned into Morocco North, they voted in great numbers for the party of Pim Fortuyn, who had been assassinated a couple weeks prior to the national election in May.

If Fortuyn had not been murdered on the eve of possible electoral triumph, the global conversation about immigration might be more advanced today. Imagine that the Prime Minister of the Netherlands were an articulate gay man speaking out against multiculturalism and incompatible immigration. "What-if" speculation is shaky business, but it is hard to believe the media could have ignored such a deliciously counter-intuitive subject — flamboyant homosexual politician, complete with chauffeur and foofy lap dogs, takes on gay-bashing, anti-woman Muslim imams. The photo opportunities and outrageous quotes would have been too irresistible for the press to pass up.

Even with the assassination, the Pim Fortuyn List won a place in the new government within a conservative coalition. The Immigration Minister is Hilbrand Nawijn, a Fortuyn party member. Key planks undergoing policy change have been the requirement that asylum seekers pay a nearly 7,000 euro deposit for compulsory Dutch language and citizenship lessons, restrictions on bringing non-western family members into Holland, and a clampdown on employment of illegal aliens.

Beyond Culture Clash

Pim Fortuyn remarked that Muslim immigration created conflict within western civilization, not merely between the west and Islam (among others) as Samuel Huntington has argued. The liberal paradigm of tolerance has not worked but instead has invited wolves to dwell among sheep.

Scholar Daniel Pipes has alerted us to the seriousness of the situation. The facts cited in his

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article "Something Rotten in Denmark?" should ring alarms from Detroit to Paris. Jews in particular should be outraged that a Danish Muslim group put a bounty on the heads of several prominent Jews there, and the safety of Jewish children cannot be guaranteed in at least one school.

Pipes says the state prosecutor is "considering a ban" on one group that called for Muslims to "kill all Jews... wherever you find them," but isn't it illegal to solicit the murder of people in Denmark? The nonchalant European attitude toward crime elicits questions: if Pim Fortuyn's accused assassin is convicted, the maximum sentence would be a mere 20 years in prison.[2]

In Europe, women's rights and safety are under severe attack because fearful, politically correct leaders refuse to condemn the misogynously barbaric culture of Muslims. In Denmark, the majority of convicted rapists are Muslims, with Danish women being the majority of victims. According to the Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet* in September 2001, 65 percent of the country's rapes were committed by "non-western" immigrants, nearly all of whom are Muslims. Bruce Bawer noted in the *Partisan Review*[3] that an Oslo professor asserted that "Norwegian women must take their share of responsibility for these rapes," evidently as the price that must be paid by women to live in the perfect multicultural society. If Muslim sexual violence were to become targeted toward tweedy university males, one wonders whether the professor would continue to be so cavalier about brutal crimes.

Such affronts to human dignity are allowed to continue because of the fearful lack of response by governments and political leaders. The belief that all cultures are equal — the central tenet of multicultural society — does not bear even the most cursory examination. The intense media coverage of Muslim society in the wake of 911 has demonstrated how wretched life is for women in much of Arab world. Still, many in the west refuse to connect the obvious dots. Our society struggled for centuries to end slavery and achieve equality under the law for all citizens – why import millions who despise these values and would impose Islamic law if they could?

Proponents of diversity insist that immigrants should be allowed cultural autonomy, even when they break the laws of the receiving country. Much of the cowardice on the part of public officials has been due to the noisy demands of immigrant groups with their predictable accusations of racism toward any attempts to bring order to multicultural chaos. We hardly hear from the victims of this delusional ideology, e.g. the western women who have been raped or the Muslim women who are often unprotected from honor killings and forced marriages.

One such voice that made an impact, however tragic, was that of Fadime Sahindal of Sweden. The daughter of traditional Kurdish immigrants, the young woman nevertheless embraced the lifestyle of an independent woman, including an education and a Swedish boyfriend. She had become known to the public when she filed suit against her family in 1998 to cease the threats of murder against her. She had spoken out against the patriarchal nature of Kurdish culture and that Sweden should encourage the assimilation of people like her family. Sadly, Ms. Sahindal's father achieved his aim of killing his daughter in January 2002, further stimulating the debate about immigration and culture in Scandinavia. Four thousand people attended her funeral, many of whom were shocked that such a crime could happen in Sweden.

"In Europe, women's rights and safety are under severe attack because fearful, politically correct leaders refuse to condemn the misogynously barbaric culture of Muslims."

An uplifting message has been heard from a somewhat surprising quarter, namely contestants in the Miss World pageant to be held in Nigeria. Several young women have pledged to boycott the contest because of the death sentence given to a Nigerian woman from an Islamic court for engaging in sex outside of marriage. In doing so, the women hope to shame Nigeria into stopping the death-by-stoning

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execution of Amina Lawal. As of early September, those boycotting included contestants from France, Belgium, Norway and Denmark.

The September 11 terrorist attacks certainly awakened many in Europe — particularly when Muslims in some communities were in the streets celebrating the death of thousands — and has allowed the discussion of immigration and multiculturalism to enter the political realm. Still, the comforting banalities of multiculturalism are hard to expunge. Daniel Pipes noted the lack of progress Denmark has made in getting a grip on crime and cultural division, describing the Danes as "mired in inertia," an observation that would fit quite a few societies.

In the long struggle shaping up within the west against extremist Islam, citizens and governments alike must reaffirm the values of western civilization against the alternative. We must hope that Europe (as well as America) will slough off its illusory ideas about multiculturalism and get back to basic principles of democracy, individual rights and reason. ■

NOTES

1. "[The Arab world] is a society where knowledge is traditional; it's passed on; it's memorized. There is very little self-criticism; there's no rational thinking." — Former Ambassador to Saudi Arabia Hume Horan on MSNBC's *Hardball*, late December 2001.

2. "Fortuyn murder hearing opens" BBC Online, Aug. 9, 2002, "If convicted, [van der Graaf] faces up to 20 years in prison." http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/europe/2182879.stm/.

3. "Tolerating Intolerance: The Challenge of Fundamentalist Islam in Western Europe" — Bruce Bawer www.bu.edu/partisanreview/archive/2002/3/bawer.html/.

Suing Employers Who Hire Illegal Immigrants

by Dan Stein

It has been evident for quite some time that the political system will not enforce immigration laws. In spite of overwhelming evidence that rampant illegal immigration is an enormous financial burden to taxpayers, a strain on public services and a threat to national security, the pressure from ethnic blocs and cheap labor interests to maintain a de facto open border prevails.

But while the president and Congress are busy seeking ways to allow millions of illegal immigrants to gain amnesty, and numerous city and county governments (including San Francisco, Oakland and Palo Alto) have decided to accept Mexican-issued documents as a valid form of ID. Protection for those who have suffered as a result of unchecked illegal immigration has come from the unlikeliest of places.

The day after Labor Day, a three-judge panel of the Ninth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals — the same court that declared the Pledge of Allegiance unconstitutional — ruled that workers who lost jobs or wages because employers knowingly hired illegal immigrants could sue those employers under the RICO (Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organization) statute. As part of the 1996 immigration law, Congress added the crimes of harboring or repeatedly hiring or harboring illegal immigrants as predicate acts for prosecution under the RICO statute. In addition to criminal prosecution by the government, the RICO laws attempt to undermine criminal enterprises by allowing injured parties to collect treble damages in civil suits.

Congress reasoned that if the clear motivation for employers to knowingly hire illegal immigrants is to save money on labor costs,

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This commentary appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle *of October 4,* © *2002, reprinted by permission.*

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then exposing them to significant financial penalties if they are caught would be a meaningful deterrent. Unlike the government, which for political reasons might not have the incentive to go after employer sanctioned scofflaws, competitors and displaced workers certainly would.

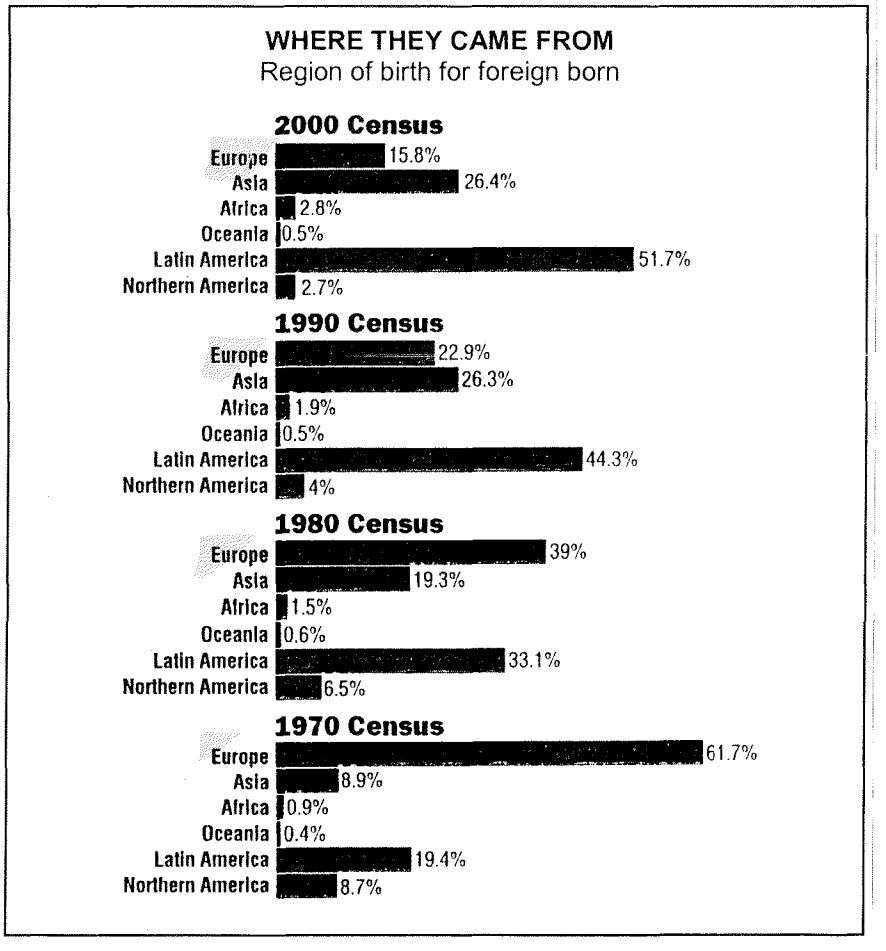
In March 2000, a group of U.S. citizens and legal immigrant workers did just that. The workers alleged that two Washington state fruit-packing companies had conspired with a labor contractor to hire illegal immigrants to depress the wages of legally authorized workers. In their Sept. 3 ruling, the Ninth Circuit panel agreed that the injuries suffered by the workers were "direct," which is a crucial technical element proving causation under RICO. The judges went on to note, "We are unable to discern a more direct victim of illegal conduct."

The Ninth Circuit ruling comes on the heels of a 2001 decision by the Second Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals. In that case, the court ruled that under RICO, a Connecticut cleaning company had standing to sue a competitor who had gained an unfair advantage through the systematic practice of hiring illegal immigrants.

These two rulings, by two separate federal appellate courts, will dramatically change the way immigration policy is enforced in America. It is the profit motive — i.e., the desire of many employers to hire workers who will work at lower wages — that has fueled illegal immigration to the United States. As a result of these legal decisions, competitors and displaced workers now have an equally powerful financial incentive to seek redress for their losses in civil court, for the monetary penalties under RICO are not just a slap on the wrist.

While the two precedent-setting cases involved small companies who engaged in a pattern and practice of hiring illegal immigrants, there is big game to go after and big money to be collected, making this form of litigation very attractive to the legal profession. Companies such as Tyson Foods — which faces criminal prosecution for not just employing illegal immigrants, but for smuggling them into the country — have become inviting targets for suits by workers and competitors who have been injured by years of flagrant violation of immigration laws.

Nothing has been able to motivate the American government to enforce its immigration laws — not overwhelming public support for tighter controls, not even the reality and continued threat of international terrorism. After decades of pleading for government action to curtail illegal immigration, the public's recourse may come down to the most American of all solutions: Sue the bastards! ■



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The Unexpected Result

Immigration and affirmative action

Book Review Essay by Frederick Lynch

In the late 1980s, while completing *Invisible Victims*, a book on the consequences of affirmative action upon both white males and the larger society, I included in the final chapter a section on the "Immigration with Preference Paradox." New and recent immigrants were being accorded preferential affirmative action status in education, employment and contracting — sometimes at the expense of American-born blacks, the original, intended beneficiaries of such polices. Yet, in numerous reviews and interviews, the obvious contradiction in expanding affirmative action preferences to recent Third World immigrants simply failed to elicit any notice or comment. Why?

Collision Course: The Strange Convergence of Affirmative Action and Immigration Policy in America
by Hugh Davis Graham
New York: Oxford University Press
246 pages, $30.00

In *Collision Course,* the late Vanderbilt political scientist-historian Hugh Davis Graham takes us inside the heretofore hidden politics of the quiet, jerry-built inclusion of minorities under the expanding affirmative action umbrella. This obviously important book is a workman-like, richly researched study of a long-neglected policy arena. But Graham's disciplinary blinkers, history and political science, also lead to neglect of underpinning sociological and cultural trends.

Graham seeks to "understand how the American political system, operating under significantly altered dynamics since the late 1960s, bent the parallel but largely unconnected trajectories of two liberal reforms of the 1960s toward a converging path that produced such unintended consequences" (p. 12). The topics were rarely connected in public or policy discourse because "though mountains of statistical data have been published to document trends in both policy areas, almost no connection is made between them." These research realms were "segregated" (p.3). Second, he cites the "desire of government officials and organizations representing minority groups to avoid the divisive issue" (p.4). But the "why" behind both reasons is left hanging and illustrates an early, running flaw in the book.

Affirmative action and immigration were understudied and disconnected because of the tremendous censorship of political correctness and its career-killing catcall of "racist." That is why the topics were "segregated" and why scholars, policy experts, television and print journalists, and other researchers also avoided these "divisive" issues. I'm not sure that there were "mountains" of data; but, in any case, critical interpretations of that data were taboo — as nearly all academics and journalists were well aware. Eventual debate by professionals and the public — a key ingredient in policy formulation — awaited the external, populist push of California's Proposition 187 and Proposition 209. These successful ballot measures, respectively, banned state aid to illegal immigrants and public sector ethnic preferences. In California and elsewhere, ordinary citizens were becoming increasingly aware of the granting of preferences to swelling numbers of legal and illegal immigrants. Their discontent registered first on talk radio and, ultimately, at the ballot box. Academics and policy experts were then forced to study the policies. Since then, however, conservative and liberal elites, along with the major media, have contained these political squalls and continue to avoid discussing the immigration-with-preference paradox. How has this been possible?

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Graham's primary focus on all this is the maneuvering of interest groups in Washington, especially Congress and the federal bureaucracies. *Collision Course* furnishes sequential chapters on "Civil Rights Reform in the 1960s," "Immigration Reform in the 1960s," "Origins and Development of Race Conscious Affirmative Action," "The Return of Mass Immigration," and "The Strange Convergence of Affirmative Action and Immigration Policy."

"'Clientele capture' is Graham's key explanatory concept in explaining the rise of a 'hard' or 'race-conscious' mode of affirmative action in the late 1960s and early 1970s."

The background chapters are excellent. Even for those familiar with these historical and policy territories, these chapters are a rewarding read. And — my later criticisms notwithstanding — Graham does draw upon sociologist John Skretney's *Ironies of Affirmative Action,* in noting that an early source of elite acquiescence to affirmative action theory (if not practice) was the desire for social control and stability arising out of the 1960s urban riots. "The riots spurred aggressive efforts by federal officials to dampen the violence by speeding delivery of benefits, especially jobs paying good wages, to urban minorities who found little payoff in the civil rights legislation of 1964-65" (p. 32). The chapter on immigration reform shows how the "family reunification" concept became almost a holy concept in emerging immigration policy in the 1960s — setting up the seeds of "chain immigration" in subsequent decades. (There is some deft analysis here, as Graham notes that business was not a driving force in 1960s immigration reforms, largely because the huge baby boom population was furnishing an abundance of young, new workers.)

"Clientele capture" is Graham's key explanatory concept in explaining the rise of a "hard" or "race-conscious" mode of affirmative action in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Following others, Graham argues persuasively "the race-conscious model of hard affirmative action was developed in trial-and-error fashion by a coalition of mostly white, second-tier civil servants in the social service agencies of the presidency" (p. 66). Thus, we have the old story whereby the regulatory agencies were "captured" by their "clients." A Kennedy-Johnson era network within federal bureaucracies formulated the "goals-and-timetables" routine to which employers and universities became accustomed. Graham maintains that such policies preceded justifying theories of compensatory justice. I'm not so sure about that. "Blaming the system" and "institutional racism" were sociological staples by the mid-1960s — marking the shift in "elite wisdom" that Charles Murray described in *Losing Ground.*

Meanwhile, back at the borders, Graham shows that mass immigration from Latin America and Asia was surging, while European immigration fell dramatically. The effects of family-preferences were becoming pronounced by the 1980s: occupational preferences which had been 60 percent of the official immigration ceiling in the 1960s dropped to 17 percent by 1980; conversely, by 1980, 70 percent of those admitted were brothers and sisters and 20 percent were spouses and unmarried children of citizens or resident aliens. (There was also a third door avenue outside official limits for visas for relatives of U.S. citizens.) The growth of American medicine was creating a demand for foreign-born health care workers and additional "network job recruiting" along family and ethnic lines was generating more demand. But the unique "cross-cutting, bipartisan politics of the immigration issue" emerged to thwart any curbs to these changing conditions.

Graham is at his best in identifying and discussing the crucial roadblock to affirmative action and immigration reform in the 1980s: the inability of pro-growth business conservatives in the Reagan and Bush administrations to "just say no" to ethnic preferences and runaway immigration. Though initially committed to regaining control of the borders, within the Reagan administration conservative divisions neutralized decisive action. This hesitation provided the opening for savvy ethnic-group operatives to establish federal

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contracting set-asides, "a tour de force of policy entrepreneurship by leaders of the civil rights coalition in Congress" (p. 88) as well as the push for bilingualism that Graham terms "Latino affirmative action."

Instead, business, pro-growth and libertarian interests (articulated by the *Wall Street Journal* and the Heritage Foundation) fought side-by-side with civil rights lobbying organizations to block restrictionist reforms. (Graham points out what others often neglect: that the proliferating ethnic group lobbies were increasingly bankrolled by major foundations.) As a result, the final 1986 Simpson-Mazzoli bill emerged as a deeply flawed compromise, a three-way bargain that included: (1) employer sanctions provisions— that proved largely ineffective; (2) a one-shot amnesty that still left large "shadow populations" of illegal immigrants in the nation's large cities, and (3) an agricultural worker program that "was an unambiguous victory for the growers and a defeat for virtually everybody else" (p. 117). Employers were ultimately pleased to use affirmative action pressures to hire more Hispanics as a trump card against the new prohibitions about hiring illegal workers. Further efforts at immigration reform in the 1990s — in spite of California's recession-fueled revolts against illegal immigration and affirmative action preferences — were eviscerated or otherwise bottled up in Congress by the now familiar left-right coalition.

As Harvard sociologist Christopher Jencks also has pointed out in a seminal two-part *New York Review of Books* analysis in November/December, 2001, immigration reform has failed because there have been few organizations to effectively articulate widespread public opinion favoring reform and restriction. There are no political rewards for voting for restrictions; but there are considerable payoffs for catering to business and ethnic group lobbies. Graham does provide a brief, balanced analysis of the origins and evolving role of the Federation of American Immigration Reform (FAIR). But they were a David against a well-heeled, bipartisan Goliath, anchored by business and the *Wall Street Journal* on the right and the Ford Foundation-funded phalanx of immigrant interest groups on the left. The defection of organized labor to expansionist policies during the 1990s was a crucial blow against further restrictionist efforts.

In discussing the mating of affirmative action with changing immigration patterns, Graham details the squalid, sloppy, and ad hoc bureaucratic formulation of racial and ethnic classifications. Especially depressing is Graham's account of the spoils-system style inclusion of "Indonesians" in the Small Business Administration's set-aside programs.

"...Graham details the squalid, sloppy, and ad hoc bureaucratic formulation of racial and ethnic classifications."

As in other societal sectors, such lobbying ultimately jeopardized the original SBA rationale for helping blacks: by the mid-1990s Asian Americans more than doubled their nationwide take of SBA minority contract dollars, from 12 to 28 percent while the Hispanic share fell to 26 percent and the black share to 34 percent. (In California, Asians obtained nearly 40 percent of set-aside contract dollars.)

Unfortunately, Graham pays minimal attention to the significance of the 1990s ideological shift from affirmative action to "diversity management" in business and government. A powerful alliance of corporate CEOs, bureaucrats, foundations, consultants, politicians, and academics — a "diversity machine" as I have elsewhere termed it — has successfully replaced the old rationale for affirmative action preferences. No longer are preferences justified solely as "righting past wrongs" against African Americans; today's demographically-driven mission in corporations and government is "getting right with the future" of burgeoning Third World workers and customers at home and abroad. The full impact of the diversity machine's predictions burst upon the nation with the publication of the 2000 census reports. Corporate CEOs and politicians in immigrant-magnet states such as Texas and California are now fully mindful of the new mix. And well before 2000, panicked GOP tacticians began emphasizing diversity rhetoric and appointments in response to repeated

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political wipeouts in demographically transformed California — harbingers of the dramatic "red and blue America" electoral map that mirrored ethnic divisions in the 2000 presidential election. The national implications of California's demographic revolution has permanently nullified GOP support for affirmative action reform or immigration restriction.

Graham mentions none of this, but in his final chapter he does assess other costs and benefits of affirmative action, mass immigration, and their peculiar juncture. He credits the shift to "hard" racial preferences to accelerating the redistribution of opportunities for blacks, especially in union-ossified occupations, in colleges and professional schools, and in creating a black middle class — though one that is largely dependent upon government employment. Following George Borjas, Graham sees some slight overall benefits from immigration, but that these have been unevenly distributed. Graham sees the roaring 1990s economic climate as favoring the economic expansionist arguments and credits Hispanic organizations for neutralizing opposition by "racializing" immigration issues — a brief acknowledgment of political correctness by another name. On the downside, Graham cites the growing economic inequalities generated by globalizing markets both among and within nations — and the accompanying "exploding new market in human misery" posed by international smuggling of human beings.

Collision Course is a "must read" book on a huge topic, a work that packs a good bit of data and interpretation into about 200 pages of text. Nevertheless, while Graham provides carefully footnoted historical analysis within a framework of rational, interest group politics, the "big picture" which is driven by global capitalism, demographic change, and multiculturalism/political correctness, is only sporadically illuminated. The policy impact of the successful hitching of "diversity" ideology to the wagon of demographic change cannot be over-estimated. But Graham rarely mentions the word "diversity," and refuses to use the term "political correctness," much less emphasize its impact.

Any university-based scholar brave enough to approach these topics knows he or she must choose words and topics with utmost care, lest an article, a book, a career become marginalized, if not altogether killed. One senses that Graham was very much aware that he was walking through professional minefields as some sharp-edged studies and data are slighted. Aside from downplaying the formidable ideological censorship and increasing triumph of "look-like-America" diversity ideology in business and government, here are some significant topics and data omitted from *Collision Course*:

- Elites-versus-masses class conflict on immigration and affirmative action — made evident in public opinion polls, talk radio, and California proposition battles and political demography. (On the conversion of the elites to globalization and multiculturalism, see Christopher Lasch's seminal *Revolt of the Elites* . On the emerging interplay between growing class and ethnic divisions in the western U.S., read Robert Kaplan's Tocquevillian sociological tour of the region in *An Empire Wilderness*.)

- The polarizing impact of mass immigration and minority preferences upon predominantly white working and middle classes, especially in California. (In the second of his two-part *New York Review of Books* analyses, Christopher Jencks focuses on the Golden State's demographic revolution which he views as a massive "social experiment" by the elite in creating a semi-Third World, two-tiered society.)

- The subsequent large scale "diversity flight" of whites (and blacks) from these immigrant magnet states. (University of Michigan/Milken Institute demographer William Frey has numerous publications on this hot-potato phenomenon.)

- The implications of both affirmative action and mass immigration policies in subverting western culture and the nation state. (*Forbes* senior editor Peter Brimelow did much to open what national debate there has been on these issues — especially among conservatives. His warnings about mass immigration's danger to the GOP proved all too prescient. Graham nowhere mentions Brimelow, much less his analyses.)

- The unending attack on "victimology" and "blaming the system" by prominent conservatives in politics and the media — especially on talk radio —

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that blocked legitimate protest and mobilization against the policy excesses Graham so well describes.

• The erosion of public trust and loyalty in government and corporate America as top-down policies with which average Americans disagreed adversely affected their own and their children's occupational and educational opportunities while unchecked immigration transformed neighborhoods, cities, and regions.

There are also some "follow-through" issues that one wishes Graham had pursued. For example, Graham points out "network hiring" as an engine of immigration, but fails to even briefly discuss how subsequent emerging "ethnic enclave" economies are affecting class and ethnic relations in regional economies like Los Angeles. (For example, growing Korean dominance of small, high-priced "mom and pop" retail stores in poor black and Latino neighborhoods of the city was a backdrop to the hostility and armed conflict during the 1992 riots.)

As mentioned, Graham is great on discussing conservative Republicans' acquiescence or outright indifference to affirmative action and mass immigration. But why were they so dense? An hypothesis worth greater exploration is that contemporary conservatives' radical individualism blinds them to how collective and structural forces mold individual behavior and cognition. Their fixation upon rational behavior in markets obscures recognition of powerful, collectively-based feelings (such as ethnic or religious loyalty) that over-ride economic models. Thus, they could not and would not see the diversity machine bearing down upon them.

Most of all, one wishes Graham were still alive to pursue his insights on the possible impact of economic downturn and the 9/11 terrorist attacks. (Graham could only acknowledge the latter on the book's last page — presumably just as it went to the printers.) He indicated that a severe recession or the 9/11 disaster would foster renewed policy debate on immigration and preferences. Yet, as I write this — nearly a year after September 11, 2001 — it hasn't happened. Political and economic elites remain wedded to the model of economic globalization, internationalism, and the new civic religion of "diversity." On the contrary, House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt is preparing to introduce a new amnesty proposal for illegal aliens, coupled with a temporary worker program — a model similar to that which George W. Bush was forced to abandon after 9/11.

The major media, at least, have been drawn to scandals resulting from the chaos in the Immigration and Naturalization Service's and the State Department's loose visa standards. (CBS' "60 Minutes" has reported on Canada's dangerously lax immigration policies and aired a segment on possible terrorist exploitation of sloppy security regarding huge shipping containers arriving daily at the nation's docks. *The New York Times Magazine* featured a cover story on the possibility of a nuclear detonation in the nation — with a graphic "what if" scenario of a one-megaton explosion in Times Square.)

"Political and economic elites remain wedded to the model of economic globalization, internationalism, and the new civic religion of 'diversity.'"

Politicians will be politicians, constantly calculating the financial and political rewards and costs of what they talk about (or don't talk about) and how they vote. Businesses will do the same. But everyday talk remains the most potent medium of social change. What topics are — or are not — permitted in the public square is vital in raising awareness, suggesting solutions and promoting policy change. Graham's study of the convergence of mass immigration and affirmative action is a fascinating read. But ignoring politically correct censorship in the crafting and highly effective defense of these policies in and by corporations, universities, foundations, government, think tanks, the elite media, and important policy-forming centers is rather like ignoring the proverbial elephant in the living room. ■

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Will Civilization Outlast Petroleum?

Book Review by Sheila Newman

Darwin's thesis, the *Origin of Species*, used geological calculations of the time to frame the Malthusian economics of ecology. Now, once again, a geological perspective comes into evolutionary discourse with Walter Youngquist's *Geodestinies*, the study of the role of minerals in the evolution and survival of human societies.

Here is a petroleum geologist who has carefully examined the problem of human multiplication, expansion and consumption, from the perspective of his own scientific specialty and mining experience. The result is an enjoyable learning experience for those lacking a geological background, although the take-home message is less cheery. Scientists and technicians from other disciplines will probably agree that Youngquist's work provides a keystone in the bridge to understanding and quantifying our current predicament. It is an example of what E.O. Wilson calls "Consilience." Youngquist is a brilliant science communicator.

Geodestinies is a detailed exploration of the practical application of energy resources theory and fable. It is of particular interest to everyone on earth because the principle question it examines is: What does petroleum based energy do for civilization and how long is it going to last?

Two major theories frame Youngquist's considered opinions on this question. The first is the Hubbert's Peak theory, which attempts to calculate when oil production will peak and decline. This is possibly the most famous and enduring of projections based on statistical trends of petroleum discovery and production, taking population growth and national consumption rates into account. The second is Rees and Wackernagel's "Ecological Footprint," which is a theory for measuring population impact on the earth and energy demand in different economies.

Geodestinies: The inevitable control of Earth resources over nations and individuals
by Walter Youngquist
Portland, OR: National Book Co.
500 pages, $29.95

Using his many years of familiarity with his subject, plus consultation with experts in other aspects of these difficult fields, Youngquist quantifies the problem of materials and energy supply — principally obtained through mining — and situates our dependency on minerals as a defining quality of human civilization from the earliest times. In an expansion of the usually vague allusion to Easter Island, he shows how nations have risen and fallen according to the presence of minerals. He starts with salt, stone and copper and finishes by examining the potential productivity of current and emerging technologies for alternative energy sources.

He begins his book by explaining the uses of various minerals. He then describes the current dependencies of national economies on the export of specific minerals, especially upon oil. Of particular interest is his wide-ranging study of single mineral economies, like Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela, Oman, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Angola, Ecuador, Brunei, Algeria, Iraq, Indonesia, Iran, Libya, Mexico, Nigeria, which all depend very heavily on oil, and those with dependencies on other minerals, like Jamaica (bauxite), Liberia (iron ore), Nauru

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(phosphate), New Caledonia (nickel), Niger (uranium), Zaire (copper; also zinc and cobalt) ... and many other examples. He describes how different governments have managed these economies profligately or with foresight as to the finiteness of their resources. In predicting the outlook for those nations which have failed to develop strategies for dealing with the problem of running out of such resources, he leads us into his study of the USA in particular. En route he observes the irony that, whereas the USA has already used up its richest mineral resources, Russia's slow economic development has left it rich in mineral resources for the future.

Much more could be made of the difference between Western Europe's and the United States's approach to population growth, energy consumption and energy resources since the time of the first oil shock in 1973. Youngquist's priority lies elsewhere, however, and he passes over these major policy differences between world powers quite quickly. This is because he will concentrate instead on the fortunes of the United States. The subsequent analysis of the politics and economics attached to state and interstate taxes on petroleum extraction and production in the United States is enthralling. For those who live outside the USA it increases awareness of how the oil economic system works within a federated economy.

"It costs more energy to extract and utilize the minerals that go to make energy storage batteries than they actually store."

Youngquist's discussion of environmental considerations is relatively free of ideology. He concentrates on the problems of energy extraction but situates these logistically — in terms of impact on land, water, nature and society, in a manner his mining background must have facilitated.

He acknowledges the dim view the many ecological movements take of mining, but comments that mining generally has much less spatial environment impact than do housing, roads and shopping centers. Of course, mining is needed to create these things, but they are driven by the demands of individuals and economies and multiplied by the growth of populations. Constantly Youngquist brings us back to the impact of population growth on demand for energy and materials. Towards the end of his book, however, he warns that mining enough coal for liquefaction to replace oil fuels would have a hitherto inconceivably huge spatial impact "....it would involve strip mining vast quantities of western land [as opposed to land in the third world] each year" — much of which would be spent in fueling such a project anyway. (Coal liquefaction is one of the major options being considered by western countries with large coal reserves.)

Youngquist's rundown on alternative fuel sources and technologies is succinct but comprehensive. He clearly defines and examines the qualities of energy producing materials, their accessibility, and the 'energy slave' values of different fuels. He also costs, examines and quantifies the productive capacity of various emerging technologies. He then evokes the broad range of major practical problems involved in implementing new technologies within our infrastructure and society.

In a methane-fueled economy, for instance, grave competition would arise over allocating land between food production and fuel production. Although a hydrogen-fueled economy holds much promise, enormous logistical and technical problems arise due to the huge size necessary for storage and conveyancing structures in a hydrogen economy, the difficulty in separating and then maintaining hydrogen as a separate element, and the near impossibility of using it as a liquid (due to its very low liquidity point). It costs more energy to extract and utilize the minerals that go to make energy storage batteries than they actually store. Reliable sources of energy to store, including solar, remain highly problematic. Power cannot be stored over the long-term in batteries and batteries themselves are expensive and need frequent replacing. Electrically powered non-rail transport would require an entirely new fueling and service infrastructure. Then there is the conundrum of how to obtain and process minerals to build storage and

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conveyancing infrastructure for an alternative fuel economy, in the absence of cheap plentiful fuel in the first place.

The twenty-first century's crucial stumbling block is, of course, replacing the advantages of abundant, easily transportable, easily stored, highly adaptable fossil petroleum fuels. Producing electricity for heating, light, and electrically powered tools, machinery and rail transport is not the overwhelming problem. The production of large amounts of electricity is feasible by other means already. The real difficulty lies in the dependency of the vast nodes and connecting highways of human settlement upon our non-rail transport system for agriculture, mining, forestry, fishing, travel, defense, trade and food. "In the area of transportation oil provides 97 percent of the world's energy."[1]. Our reliance on wheels and airplanes and their reliance on oil seems inescapable. The replacement of fossil petroleum in the quantity contemporary global civilization requires for non-rail transport, appears to be well beyond our current technology. Even if we drastically reduce our individual and collective use of energy, the chances of maintaining all of our current population, let alone the chances of sustaining any future growth, seem dim to say the least.

Using statistical analysis of trends and his oil-geologist knowledge, Youngquist makes a good case for us to worry that we will run out of cheap abundant oil for transport, primary and extractive industries, well before we find an effective replacement. Peak of aggregate global oil production is generally expected around the end of the first decade of the 21st century. After this production would begin to decline.[2] Competition between regional powers for access to remaining reservoirs is then likely to rise along with human population numbers.

The problem of supplying electricity is more manageable, but still very difficult. In the short term the world trend seems to be towards a nuclear solution, despite the dangers, as a background to a variety of alternatives like wind, solar and tidal. The virtually limitless power of fusion is a distant future possibility, but many only give humans a 50-50 chance of ever succeeding in finding the technology. Those who think it will be found also think it will take about 50 years.[3]

In his discussion of fuel and population growth, Youngquist does not forget the dependency of agriculture on fuel and oil based fertilizers. Modern farms are really giant moving oil-powered factories with wheeled machines for digging, planting, spraying, harvesting, threshing, rolling, cutting, packaging and transporting over many hectares. Maintenance of the agricultural revolution depends on mining to provide fertilizers from oil and other minerals. These are conveyed all over the world by using the mostly oil-powered modern transport system. The decline of the petroleum based economy will thus also remove from human civilization the greater part of the agricultural productivity gained through the agricultural revolution. Meanwhile humans have covered much of the earth's fertile land with the infrastructure used to house and transport humans.

Youngquist's *Geodestinies* leaves the reader with the idea that there is really only one option in the short term, to reduce human population growth and energy consumption as fast as possible, in order to reduce the loss of life and widespread misery which an economic crash associated with the decline of cheap plentiful oil would seem inevitably to obtain. Energy conservation, new technologies, and spatial re-organization in the 'developed world' will buffer and diminish suffering, but will not vastly alter, the scale of impact of this event.[4]

[*Dr. Youngquist is a petroleum geologist and a member of the Geothermal Resources Council and the New York Academy of Science.*]

NOTES

1. *Geodestinies*, p.204

2. *Geodestinies*, Chapter 12.

3. *Geodestinies*, pp. 226-227

4. As I mentioned earlier, Youngquist does not compare Europe with the English-speaking settler countries. This is certainly no criticism of such a comprehensive work. It would, however, be interesting to know if he might agree that some European countries, like France, with effective electric rail transport systems, and declining population growth, and the capacity to supply their populations locally, will have a better chance. It would seem that countries like the United States, Canada and Australia, upon which much of the world's food supply depends, and which have rapidly growing populations of their own, as well as a high dependency on road transport, would probably fare less well. The outlook of "developing countries" is another area that needs investigation.

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Discounting the Future

Book Review by Michael W. Masters

> *The loss of the ivory-billed woodpecker has had no discernable effect on American prosperity. A rare flower or moss could vanish from the Catskill forest without diminishing the region's filtration capacity. But so what? To evaluate individual species by their known practical value at the present time is business accounting in the service of barbarism.*
>
> — E. O. Wilson, *The Future of Life*

In his prescient 1977 essay, *The Limits of Altruism, An Ecologist's View of Survival,* biologist Garrett Hardin noted that "no civilization has ever recovered after ruining its environment." This may seem of academic interest when invoking the deforestation of ancient Mesopotamia or the role of lead waterways in eroding Roman fertility. But, these cases have something in common that distinguishes them from modern ecological disasters — they were localized in space and time. Ancients knew nothing of global warming or world-wide nuclear winter. Virgin lands provided sanctuary from which recovery and renewal could radiate.

The Future of Life
by
Edward O. Wilson
New York: Alfred A. Knopf
229 pages, $22.00

Not so today. Thanks to "globalization," humanity now has the power to wreak havoc on a vast, and possibly irreversible, scale.

Four decades ago, Rachel Carson's best seller, *Silent Spring,* energized the environmental movement with her indictment of pesticides and their impact on wildlife. Now, at the turn of a new century, Edward O. Wilson, respected biologist and chronicler of the science of sociobiology, has upped the ante with his latest book, *The Future of Life.* Wilson's book is far more comprehensive than *Silent Spring*, tracing the imperiling of nature to its root cause — as liberals might put it. The ultimate danger to earth's biosphere arises from an exploding human population that exhibits little regard for the long term health of the world we live in — a phenomenon that Professor Hardin called discounting the future.

Breed for Greed

For starters, there are simply more of people than is healthy for the planet. World population passed six billion in 1999, growing at a rate that Wilson describes as bacterial rather than primate. While prosperity and birth control have brought declining fertility rates in the developed world — and, optimists hope, eventually in the emerging world — numbers will continue to rise for many decades under even the most optimistic assumptions. The crest may exceed ten billion by the next century.

Even worse than sheer numbers is the fact that our viewpoint is almost exclusively focused on short-term economic gain regardless of long-term consequences. To economists and transnational corporate moguls, the world is an inexhaustible cornucopia of ever-expanding production and consumption. Greed is the chief value system. No one seems to care what will become of the world once industrial pollution, deforestation, loss of habitat, depletion of the ocean's whale and fishing stocks and other forms of exploitation have run their course.

But, they should. Wilson cites estimates that while the combined gross national product of the entire world was some $18 trillion in 1997, the financial value of "all the ecosystems services provided humanity free of charge by the living natural environment" was $33 trillion. Providing these services after the environment is ruined will surely cost more than conserving them in the first place — as New York City once discovered.

Confronted with over-development and looming ruin of the Catskill Mountains watershed — and its

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Michael W. Masters *writes on issues of politics, history, moral philosophy, and sociobiology. He is a frequent contributor to* The Social Contract..

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free water filtration service — New Yorkers faced a choice: spend up to $8 billion on a filtration plant (plus annual operating costs) or restore the Catskills for $1 billion. In this case, the ecologically sound choice was also the less costly one — a tradeoff that is not always so clear cut.

"At the present rate, one fifth of all species will be extinct or beyond saving by 2030. At the end of the 21st century, a staggering one-half of all species will have vanished."

Nor do we have forever to solve this problem. Two million species have been identified by scientists — out of an estimated five to 100 million. But their numbers are declining precipitously. The rate of extinction today is estimated at 1000 to 10,000 times that prior to the advent of humans. Before *Homo sapiens,* roughly one species per million per year disappeared, about the same as the rate at which new species evolved. At the present rate, one fifth of all species will be extinct or beyond saving by 2030. At the end of the 21st century, a staggering one-half of all species will have vanished.

Not without reason does Wilson entitle his second chapter, "The Planetary Killer." One is left to wonder, at what point our distant grandchildren will inherit an asphalt-paved planet suitable only for starlings, flies and weeds?

Ignoble Savages

The West is hardly blameless for this problem — though it often escapes notice that concern for the environment is largely a Western invention, pioneered by American conservationists such as Teddy Roosevelt. However, while the West's impact on the environment may have been magnified by the efficiency of Western technology, our position is by no means unique. In fact, peoples of almost all cultures have displayed a remarkable talent for devouring "the big, the slow and the tasty."

When Australia's first aboriginal "immigrants" arrived "down under" 50,000+ years ago, the continent abounded with 23 foot long "monitor lizards similar to the present-day Komodo dragons." There were "creatures vaguely resembling giant sloths, rhinoceroses, and lions, as well as oversized kangaroos and a horned terrestrial tortoise the size of a small automobile." Soon after the aborigines arrived, "and evidently no later than 40,000 years ago, the megafauna had vanished."

The influx of Arab traders after about A.D. 700 brought devastation to Madagascar, killing in its wake all native species of "mammals, birds and reptiles above 10 kilograms (roughly 20 pounds)."

When the Maori first waded ashore on New Zealand in the thirteenth century, they found a "vast biological wonderland" populated with many species, the most interesting of which were the moas, "large flightless birds resembling ostriches and emus but independently evolved on these islands alone." They ranged from the size of a turkey to the biggest (and tastiest) of all, the "prodigious *Dinornis giganteus* ('gigantic terrible-bird')" — nine feet tall and weighing over 300 lb.

> *Then, like the sweep of a scythe, came the Maori. Spreading from the north to south, they butchered the moas in huge numbers and piled their bones conspicuously in hunting sites all over the islands. By the middle of the fourteenth century, a matter of a few decades, the moas were gone. . . Possibly no more than a hundred colonists first arrived, and as few as a thousand were present when the last of the moas disappeared.*

Wrecking the environment, it seems, is a thoroughly multicultural enterprise. Wilson continues,

> *[t]he somber archaeology of vanished species has taught us the following lessons:*
>
> - *The noble savage never existed,*
> - *Eden occupied was a slaughterhouse,*
> - *Paradise found is paradise lost.*

The China Example

Little has changed, and examples abound throughout the Third World as well as in the formerly communist countries of the now defunct Soviet empire. Most people know about the imperiled rain

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forests of Brazil, but few know that China is a major ecological crisis in the making. In order to feed its 1.2 billion people, China is forced "continually to design and redesign its lowland territories as one gigantic hydraulic system" of dams and canals. The Three Gorges dam and the planned Xiaolangdi dam are among the largest structures ever conceived. But at what cost?

> *Meanwhile, the surtax levied on the environment to support China's growth, although rarely entered on the national balance sheets, is escalating to a ruinous level. Among the most telling indicators is the pollution of water. Here is a measure worth pondering ...according to the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization, 80 percent [of China's major rivers] no longer support fish. The Yellow River is dead along much of its course, so fouled with chromium, cadmium, and other toxins from oil refineries, paper mills, and chemical plants as to be unfit for either human consumption or irrigation.*

Back from the Brink

Wilson does not believe the battle is lost. His final chapter lays out a 12-point program of renewal that is visionary in scope. Saving the biosphere will require a concerted and world wide effort — drawing on the resources of government and the private sector as well as science and technology. The immediate focus must be on saving the most imperiled regions, among them Hawaii, the West Indies, Equador, Atlantic Brazil, West Africa, Madagascar, the Philippines, Indo-Burma, India, South Africa, and Australia.

Wilson suggests that conservation must be made profitable via, for example, tax credits and ecotourism. Furthermore, he urges a last ditch effort on the part of zoos and botanical gardens to actively breed endangered species. As an example, zoos around the world are starting the dolorous task of breeding and rearing Asian tigers in captivity, only a few thousand of which remain in the wild — victims of encroaching human populations and loss of the wilderness habitat they must have to survive.

But What of Humanity?

Wilson studiously avoids certain subjects with environmental implications, among them Third World immigration into the West. After all, much of the current exploitation of the environment is taking place in the Third World — where emerging populations seek, perhaps justifiably, to ape the conspicuous consumerism of the West. Can the West indefinitely absorb such people without eventually becoming like them?

Perhaps Wilson's reticence to deal with this volatile subject is understandable. His great integrating work, *Sociobiology* — postulating as it did a group-based genetic foundation for social behavior, both human and animal — brought him much unwelcome attention from the shrill neo-Marxists who control what passes for media in America.

Nonetheless, in Wilson's words we may infer a warning against another attack on earth's bio-diversity — the reshaping of humanity through immigration. It cannot have escaped notice that the paradoxical consequence of imposing diversity in one place is the eradication of diversity — through displacement, differential birth rates and mixing. Is the West to share the fate of the moas of New Zealand and the giant turtles of Australia? Wilson's warning about natural ecosystems applies equally well to humans: "mathematical models that attempt to describe the interactions of species in ecosystems show that ... high diversity can lower the stability of individual species."

"Wilson suggests that conservation must be made profitable via, for example, tax credits and ecotourism. Furthermore, he urges a last ditch effort on the part of zoos and botanical gardens to actively breed endangered species."

Juxtapose this statement with declining Western birthrates and massive Third World immigration and

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one discovers yet another instance of disregard for the consequences of placing a fragile population in peril.

Ethics vs Economics

Whether natural ecosystems or human, the problem is everywhere the same — exploitation of fragile and impermanent resources for the benefit of the shortsighted and greedy few. Eighteenth century mercantilists and nineteenth century robber barons can't hold a candle to twenty-first century globalists. Writes Wilson,

> *What humanity is inflicting on itself and Earth is, to use a modern metaphor, the result of a mistake in capital investment. Having appropriated the planet's natural resources, we chose to annuitize them with a short-term maturity reached by progressively increasing payout."*

He adds,

> *But there is a problem: the key elements of natural capital, Earth's arable land, ground water, forests, marine fisheries, and petroleum, are ultimately finite, and not subject to proportionate capital growth. Moreover, they are being decapitalized by overharvesting and environmental destruction. With population and consumption continuing to grow, the per-capita resources left to be harvested are shrinking. The long-term prospects are not promising.*

Where do we look for a solution? "The new strategy to save the world's fauna and flora begins, as in all human affairs, with ethics." The first step is to strip away the deceptive moralizing that blinds us. As Wilson observes, "We are daily soaked in self-righteous gossip. . .even the tyrant is sterling in prose, invoking patriotism and economic necessity to justify his misdeeds."

Just so. The same people who rape the environment in the name of economics also flood the West with aliens in order to secure cheap labor — all the while shrieking "racist" and "xenophobe" at anyone who opposes the destruction of their native habitat. This is not moral behavior, nor is opposing it immoral.

According to the Roman historian Tacitus, on the eve of the Battle of Mons Grapius, the Caledonian leader, Calgacus, told his warriors (one day to be known as Scots) that their Roman opponents had "made of the world a desert and called it peace." Perhaps it is time to stake today's corporate looters in the hot sun of the desert they have created and loose the "giant terrible-bird" on them. ■

Immigration Numbers for 2001

At the end of August, 2002, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) released its legal immigration statistics for 2001.

In 2001, the U.S. admitted 1,064,318 legal immigrants. This is 65 percent higher than 1999 admissions, and 25 percent higher than 2000 admissions. It is the highest admissions number since the IRCA-admission years of 1989-1991. If one excludes IRCA admissions, it is the highest annual admission since 1914. Only eight years have had higher admissions: the Ellis Island years of 1906, 1907, 1910, 1913, and 1914, and the IRCA years of 1989, 1990, and 1991.

Of the 1,064,318 legal immigrants admitted in 2001, only 39 percent were new admissions; 61 percent were foreign citizens already here as either non-immigrants or illegal aliens who adjusted their status. This is due to INS processing of backlogged applications for adjustment of status (presumably a large share of them under Section 245(i). The INS predicts even higher numbers in 2002.

Of 2001 admissions, 64 percent were relatives, 17 percent were employment immigrants and their dependent relatives, 10 percent were refugees or asylees, 4 percent were visa lottery admissions, and the remainder were admissions under various minor categories.

The number of admissions of immediate relatives — the unlimited category that has been growing due to effects of chain migration — rose to 443,964, its highest level ever.

Of all legal admissions in 2001, 19.4 percent were immigrants from Mexico, 6.6 percent from India, 5.3 percent from China, 5 percent from the Philippines, and 3.3 percent from Vietnam.

The top ten source-countries (Mexico, India, China, Philippines, Vietnam, El Salvador, Cuba, Haiti, Bosnia, Canada) accounted for 51.9 percent of all admissions in 2001.

As in every year since 1971, the top destination states for legal immigrants in 2001 were California, New York, Florida, Texas, New Jersey, and Illinois. These six states are the destinations for 65 percent of all admissions in 2001.

— Source: The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), research by Scipio Garling

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The Bulletin Board

Immigration on the Internet

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal now has a research site by which all the articles published in previous issues of the journal are available at <www.thesocialcontract.com/archives>. Here are some additional sites that readers may find of interest. Listing them here does not imply that THE SOCIAL CONTRACT endorses the material on any specific site.

- The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR): www.fairus.org.
- Diversity Alliance for a Sustainable America at www.diversityalliance.org.
- Immigration by the Numbers: www.numbersusa.com.
- ProEnglish: www.proenglish.org.
- A new voice for population/environment issues: www.sprawlcity.org.
- Center for Immigration Studies: www.cis.org.
- *Limits to Growth* edited by Brenda Walker: www.LimitsToGrowth.org.
- Alternatives to Growth Oregon at: www.agoregon.org.
- National parks at our southern border are being overrun by an overwhelming number of illegal aliens: www.desertinvasion.us.
- Comments from Peter Brimelow, Joseph Fallon, and others: www.vdare.com.
- Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform (CAIR) and links to other state-based organizations: www.cairco.org.
- Carrying Capacity Network: www.carryingcapacity.org.
- Negative Population Growth: www.npg.org.
- California Coalition for Immigration Reform: www.ccir.net.
- Philip Martin's *Migration News:* www.migration.ucdavis.edu.
- Professor Norman Matloff: www.heather.cs.ucdavis.edu /pub/Immigration/Index.html.
- Midwest Coalition for Responsible Immigration: www.enteract.com/~mcri97.
- Sierrans for U.S. Population Stabilization: www.susps.org.
- *People and Place* is published in Australia by the Centre for Population and Urban Research: www.elecpress.monash.edu.au/pnp.
- Canadian Immigration Reform Committee: www.canadafirst.net.
- Terminology is important — "undocumented" persons have entered the country illegally: www.illegalaliens.us.
- Voices of Citizens Together: www.americanpatrol.com.
- Council of Conservative Citizens: www.cofcc.org.
- Columnist Samuel Francis: www.samfrancis.net.
- The Biocentric Institute: www.iapm.org/biocenter.html.
- Stalking the Wild Taboo: www.lrainc.com/swtaboo/.
- ProjectUSA: www.projectusa.org.
- The European Forum for Migration Studies: www.uni-bamberg.de/~ba6ef3/home.html.
- Floridians for a Sustainable Population: www.flsuspop.org.
- Population and Sustainability: www.ecofuture.org/populat.html.
- American Renaissance: www.amren.com.
- *Mankind Quarterly:* www.mankind.org.
- Federal Publications (developments in immigration law): http://www.fedpub.com/fedpub/immigrat.htm.

E-mail addresses for pertinent organizations:

- Center for Immigration Studies (CIS): center@cis.org.
- Negative Population Growth: npg@npg.org.
- Carrying Capacity Network: ccn@igc.apc.org.
- Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS): caps@cap-s.org.

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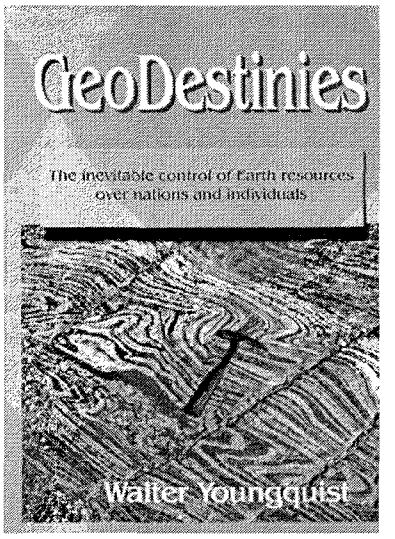
GeoDestinies

The inevitable control of Earth resources over nations and individuals

by Walter Youngquist



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Dr. Walter Youngquist, who makes his home in Eugene, Oregon, brings to this unique volume his studies as a geologist in seventy countries on the vital relationship of Earth resources to nations and individuals. The future availability of such resources as oil and water has dire ramifications for economic well-being, even prospects for war and peace. *GeoDestinies* is a landmark interdisciplinary study and unique reference, touching on many diverse specialties including economics, political science, sociology, ecology, religion, international relations, and history, as well as the obvious relevance to the geological sciences.

Dr. Youngquist's professional affiliations include membership in the American Association of Petroleum Geologists, the Geothermal Resources Council, and the New York Academy of Sciences. He is a Fellow of the Geological Society of America and the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

National Book Company
500 Pages
$29.95 Hardbound
ISBN 0-89420-299-5

Available from The Social Contract Press
1.800.352.4843
Website Bookstore: www.thesocialcontract.com

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